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London Review
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 ENGAGING THE MIND

GBP
 Vol 158, No 26
 Week ending June 28, 1998



The Guardian

Jerusalem plan provokes outcry

David Sharrock in Jerusalem and Martin Kettle in Washington

THE Middle East peace process reached closer to collapse this week when Israel's Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu announced a plan to extend Jerusalem's borders into the occupied West Bank.

Ignoring American protests, the Israeli prime minister, Benjamin Netanyahu, won cabinet approval for the scheme, which Palestinian leaders said amounted to a de facto annexation of territories that were supposed to be subject to final status negotiations between the two sides.

The creation of a "greater Jerusalem" will include the extension of its boundaries westwards to incorporate Israeli commuter towns, with the objective of "grandfathering" the city's Jewish, Arab and Muslim residents into the proposal to create an "umbrella municipality" over parts of the West Bank beyond the 1967 Green Line to the south, east and north of Jerusalem. Eight Jewish settlements will fall under the city's municipal authority.

But it sets up an "umbrella authority", putting the settlements under Jerusalem's municipal authority for certain services, notably building and planning. Settlements normally have to get building approval from the defence ministry.

Hundreds of Israelis in prosperous suburbs west of Jerusalem demonstrated against the plan last Sunday, vowing to take it to the supreme court. Many moved out of Jerusalem to flee the steadily rising intensity of the religious community, many members of which do not work or pay taxes. "We are not going to pay for the Haredi [ultra-Orthodox] neighbourhoods in Jerusalem," said one angry resident.

For months the Palestinians have been urging Washington to take a tougher line with Mr Netanyahu, but the United States secretary of state, Madeleine Albright, has persevered in assembling a package deal that would see Israel withdraw from another 13 per cent of the West Bank in return for security guarantees and the start of final status negotiations.

Last Sunday, after a week of intensive lobbying against the Israeli move, Mrs Albright said she had told Mr Netanyahu in a telephone conversation that "in this very delicate environment, unilateral actions are not the kind that are helpful".

A state department spokesman had earlier called the plan "extremely provocative".

In a press conference aiming to turn back the tide of criticism, Mr Netanyahu said there had been a campaign to distort the Israeli decision. It was "entirely unimpeachable, culturally administrative, with no political implications".

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Belgium	BSO	Norway	NK 16
Denmark	DK17	Portugal	ES30
Finland	FM 10	Saudi Arabia	SA 6.50
France	FF 14	Spain	P 300
Germany	GM 4	Sweden	SK 250
Greece	GR 18	Switzerland	SP 3.90
Italy	L 3,500		



They joy... An Iranian youth celebrates his country's 2-1 victory over the United States in the World Cup. Below, French police officer Daniel Nibel lies critically injured after being hit by a footballer.

Hooligans face expulsion from France for life

Jim Hendry and Stuart Duncan in Toulouse, and John Miller

EMERGENCY powers to deport known hooligans and ban them from France for life were introduced this week after a day of German rioting that left one policeman in a coma.

The decision, following a meeting between senior British and French security officials, was hailed as a measure of the determination to stamp out the violence that has so far marred the World Cup tournament.

The injured French officer, Daniel Nibel, a 44-year-old father of two, was struck with a metal bar in clashes following Germany's 2-2 draw with Yugoslavia in Lens, northern France. Hospital authorities in Lens said on Monday that they did not expect him to survive. Germany considered withdrawing from the World Cup, it emerged, as Chancellor Helmut Kohl condemned as a national

disgrace the violence by German hooligans. But FIFA, the world football authority, turned down the informal offer.

Regional Prefect Daniel Cadoux said 96 men, mostly Germans, were detained during the trouble and six immediately deported. He said the German hooligans were "for the most part sober", unlike English rioters in Marseille. "They didn't come to support their team," said Mr Cadoux. "They came to smash things up, to attack security forces."

French police believe that the violence in Lens was orchestrated by gangs of well-organised thugs, many with neo-Nazi connections. As many as 450 skinheads were seen on the streets of Lens before and after the match, giving Nazi salutes. Some of those arrested are known to German police as neo-Nazi thugs. The German Football Federation said that French police ignored written warnings



that thugs banned from every football stadium in Germany were planning to travel to Lens.

The rioting deflected attention from the England fans to Toulouse for Monday's game against Romania, which England lost 2-1 (Match report, page 31).

Britain cuts gay age of consent to 16

Michael Whitham and Lucy Ward

BRITAIN'S House of Commons voted overwhelmingly this week in favour of lowering the homosexual age of consent from 18 to 16 after ministers assured MPs that they may change employment laws to protect vulnerable young people.

The predatory attention of adults of all sexual persuasions, MPs voted by 338 to 129, a decisive majority of 207, to establish before the law for gays and lesbians in Britain and end five centuries of discrimination. But the

historic victory was not won without fierce opposition from mainly Conservative traditionalists, who warned fellow MPs that "our duty is to protect the innocent".

Gay activists, some of whom staged a peaceful vigil outside the Palace of Westminster during the debate, hailed an important milestone, which they predicted, will lead to further treatment beyond the conduct of sexual relations, notably in such financial matters as inheritance pension rights and tenancies.

Lobbying was far less intense than in 1994, Labour's decision, vice

hory last May all but assured that the 1994 vote, which saw MPs vote for 18 as a compromise between 16 and 21, would be reversed.

Some of the estimated 1,000 gay activists watched from the public gallery, breaking into applause at the result of the vote.

Encouraged by the churches, the traditionalists put up as fierce opposition as they did four years ago. At one point, Nicholas Winter, an arch-opponent, challenged his colleague, Eleanor Laing, one of the Tories to speak out for the change, to justify "unnatural" practices.

"one of the main sources of Aids and hepatitis" - In terms of Christian morality.

She did so in terms of "equality before the law" and, amid barbed suggestions that "young boys have to be protected, when young girls do not".

An attempt to amend the bill to protect minors of both sexes from predatory conduct by people in authority over them, from teachers to carers in children's homes, was more narrowly defeated, by 224 to 194 votes, only after a Home Office minister, Alan Michael, himself a former youth worker, said a government working party was actively considering tightening the law.

John Co. 116

Russia in nuclear deal with India

Suzanne Goldenberg
in New Delhi

INDIA gave thanks for an old friend this week after Russia defied international outrage at New Delhi's nuclear test explosions and agreed to supply it with two reactors.

The deal, which was sealed last Sunday, came only 10 days after Russia and the other G8 leading industrialised countries agreed at their summit in Birmingham not to export technology that could be used in the weapons programmes of India or Pakistan.

It makes Russia the first foreign supplier of nuclear technology to India for more than 20 years. The United States and Canada, which built India's earliest nuclear reactors in the 1960s, ended co-operation after New Delhi's first test explosion in 1974.

India is delighted at this move because it is a signal of what the Indian government would like to portray, and that is "we are not alone in the world any more," one diplomat said.

New Delhi-based diplomats from the other G8 countries were incredulous when the deal, worth about \$3.6 billion in 1995, was announced last week.

The deal will allow India to build two reactors in the south-eastern state of Tamil Nadu, and to supply the reactors with fuel. The deal also allows India to build a new nuclear power station at Kudankulam, in southern Tamil Nadu state, was contrary to the spirit of the G8 summit resolution condemning last month's nuclear tests by India and Pakistan.

"The timing raises all kinds of questions, given all the attention on nuclear issues," another diplomat said. However, Russia, which has also supplied reactors to Iran, has been anxious to sell its technology abroad.

Indian officials were openly delighted. They insisted that the deal was not covered by sanctions because it was originally agreed in 1988, and because the power station would be subject to International Atomic Energy Association safeguards. The officials also believed it was not covered by more stringent "full scope" safeguards agreed in 1992.

V Ashok, a spokesman for India's Atomic Energy Commission, said: "This deal predates sanctions, or any other commitment that Russia might have chosen to make afterwards. It just so happens that the finalisation took a great deal of time because the Soviet Union collapsed, and an entirely new finance package had to be worked out."

But the US condemned Russia's decision to supply India. "This is not good news," said the state department spokesman, James Rubin. "It's the wrong message at the wrong time and we are going to urge the Russians to reconsider."

The sale will allow India to build two reactors in the south-eastern state of Tamil Nadu, and to supply the reactors with fuel.

The deal also signals a resumption of co-operation between New Delhi and Moscow, India's main arms supplier before the Soviet Union collapsed. Last week a high-ranking Indian military delegation was in Russia looking at a range of defence equipment, including fighter planes and air defence systems.



Conrad Schumann, the soldier pictured escaping to West Berlin in 1961, two days after East German started building the Berlin Wall, has committed suicide at his home in Bavaria, aged 56.

US ambassador reins in world criminal court

THE United States last week limited its support for a new international criminal court, which is likely to sit in The Hague.

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genocide and crimes against humanity. The US position is sharply at odds with Britain, Canada, and most members of the European Union.

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Rebels step up Ugandan terror raids

Anna Borzillo in Kigali

DAVID BUGHYRE, aged 24, lay in his hospital bed and spoke through lips swollen with pain and blood. "They smashed in the windows, poured in petrol and set our dormitories alight," he said.

Mr Bughyre is one of nine students in hospital after an attack this month by rebels of the Allied Democratic Forces (ADF) on the Rwandan Technical Institute. He is lucky to have escaped with his life; at least 45 people died in the raid. More than 110 young men are still missing, believed abducted or killed.

The attack is the worst by the ADF, who have been trying since November 1993 to overthrow Uganda's President Yoweri Museveni. The rebels are a coalition of an Islamist sect, known as Haddas, and fighters from a previously defunct group, the National Army for the Liberation of Uganda. They are supported by Rwandan ex-government militia and soldiers who were loyal to the late former Zairian president, Mobutu Sese Seko.

The rebels used to operate out of eastern Zaire, but when the forces of the current president, Laurent Kabila, seized power, pushing the country's Democratic Republic of Congo into chaos, they moved to the Rwandan border, which straddles the border with Uganda.

Mr Museveni proclaimed the rebels' realisation on the mountain top and the continuing support of the Sudanese government. Mr Museveni — who backed Mr Kabila's bid for power — had also counted on Congo's new government to secure the border region and cut off the rebels' arms supply.

But Mr Kabila has not made this his priority, and Uganda rebels continue to operate freely, rebelling against the Rwandan government. The situation came to a head last month when Congo lashed out at Uganda, accusing Mr Museveni of interfering in its internal affairs.

Despite these problems, west of Uganda — who voted overwhelmingly for Mr Museveni in the 1996 elections — have given the government the benefit of the doubt. But the attack on Kigali was a turning point. During the raid, the troops guarding the institute fled.

Mr Museveni knows his cabinet afford to lose the support of a group rich in agriculture, minerals and so on. He has promised compensation to the survivors and disciplinary action against the soldiers.

However, many Ugandans are beginning to ask whether the army has the capacity to bring the fighting to an end. The ADF is one of three rebel groups fighting the government, and there are increasing calls for a resolution of the conflict through negotiation.

Swiss banks' offer 'is robbery'

Mark Tran in New York

SWITZERLAND'S three largest banks last week offered to pay no more than \$800 million to settle claims from Holocaust survivors who have accused the banks of misappropriating assets of account holders sent to death camps.

The announcement by Credit Suisse, Swiss Bank, and Union Bank of Switzerland, marked the first time the banks have mentioned a figure for a possible settlement. But it was immediately condemned by Jewish groups.

The banks said the \$800 million included about \$70 million they had

already set up in a humanitarian fund set up by Swiss banks, the central bank and private businesses last year to aid needy Holocaust victims.

The offer does not include repayments to Holocaust victims or their heirs from dormant wartime accounts in Swiss banks that an independent auditing team headed by a former United States central banker, Paul Volcker, is auditing.

By all legitimate criteria, this is a fair offer. The banks view this offer to be at the upper limit of what can be justified, the three banks said in a joint statement.

Abraham Burg, the head of the Jewish Agency in Israel, said the

offer was "robbery and an evil deed". The three banks... hid the stolen property for years and now are trying to earn interest," he said.

Michael Kahan, the senior vice-president of the American Jewish Congress, said: "This is probably going to be unacceptable, given all the interest that has accrued since the 1930s."

In March the Swiss banks agreed in principle to an out-of-court settlement of \$20 billion class-action lawsuit in the US. The settlement was due to be completed this month. In response to recent reports that some lawyers were demanding more than \$1 billion in the settlement, the banks warned they

"would not entertain unfounded and excessive demands for payments".

The Credit Suisse chairman, Rainer Gut, said the banks had gone public with their offer "because there has been so much speculation, so many leaks and semi-leaks".

But the World Jewish Congress in New York, one of the groups involved in the search for a settlement, expressed its dismay. It said the Swiss declaration was a "dramatic violation of the confidentiality agreement" by the banks.

The settlement talks began in April under the auspices of the United States under-secretary of state, Stuart Eizenstat, and headed off threats of a boycott of Swiss banks in the US, particularly in New York. Both the Swiss government and the Swiss central bank have refused so far to join settlement talks.



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Havel to be kingmaker as Czechs swing left

Ian Traynor in Prague

THE Czech president, Vaclav Havel, was thrust into the role of kingmaker last weekend after voters in a general election made the Social Democrats the strongest Czech party but returned a hung parliament.

Voters in the two-day poll crowned Milos Zeman's Social Democrats as the comfortable winner with 32.3 per cent of the vote. It gave him a sweet victory over his arch-rival, former prime minister, Vaclav Klaus, whose Civic Democratic party could only manage to win 27.7 per cent support.

But a deal between the two men is unlikely and the chances of a stable minority coalition being formed are slim. There will be weeks of haggling, with the onus on President Havel to help make the country governable.

Since the "velvet revolution" of 1989, the Czech Republic has been the most stable country in post-communist Europe. But the election confirmed that those days are gone, ushering in a period of fragile government, slinky conditions, and growing public anxiety.

Mr Havel, who is recovering from 18 months of acute illness, has courted controversy by playing an uncharacteristically interventionist role in Czech politics over the past

six months. He is now expected to invite the rival party leaders to open talks on a coalition, which will probably include at least three parties.

The Social Democratic victory marked a watershed in the Czech Republic because it was the first time since the democratic era began in 1989 that voters preferred the centre-right to the centre-left.

The result was in line with the president's recommendation to the electorate last week he advised people against voting for Mr Klaus, who was the post-communist world's longest-serving prime minister until toppled November.

Party corruption scandal last week he did not have to resign under the former central banker, Josef Trosky.

Mr Havel is constitutionally empowered to appoint a prime minister-designate and ask him or her to try to form a government. He is expected to offer that job to Zeman, however, the president said last week that he did not have to offer the job to the leader of the strongest party and also indicated that Mr Zeman might not want the job.

The Social Democrats won 74 seats in the 200-seat parliament. A coalition with the Christian Democrats, who claimed 20 seats, and the rightist liberals of the Freedom

Union (19 seats) would muster a sufficient majority.

But while the Christian Democrats have declared themselves willing coalition partners with the Social Democrats, the Freedom Union, a breakaway faction from Mr Klaus's party, will require considerable courting.

Mr Klaus's enthusiastic espousal of free markets "without ifs and buts" degenerated into a corrupt, degenerated free-for-all after eight years in power.

Mr Zeman has pledged to slow down privatisation, regulate the market, keep key utilities under state control, and engage in deficit spending. He has also vowed with the idea of a winging unilateralism.

He has suggested abolishing the books of those boasting fortunes of more than \$3 million and requiring them to prove that their wealth was acquired legally.

Although Mr Zeman has ruled out a deal with the communists, who took 24 seats, he could try to establish a more left-leaning coalition with the communists' tacit support. But such a move would make it almost impossible for the Christian Democrats or Freedom Union to join a Zeman government.

The election came two years early and few pundits expect the new parliament to last a full four-year term.

Diplom

Motown sings blues as jobs head south

US DIARY
Martin Kettle

YOU do not need to talk to members of the United Auto Workers (UAW) Local Number 659 in Flint, Michigan, to know what underlies their strike against General Motors, which has entered its third week.

All you need to do is read the large notice in the car park behind their union offices, which has become the strike headquarters. "The parking of any foreign-made cars on Local 659 property is absolutely prohibited," the notice reads. "Violators will have their autos towed at their own expense."

For these General Motors workers, foreign-made cars are the nightmare that they believe GM wants to foist on American consumers. This will in turn make American car workers redundant, further depleting the already much-reduced GM workforce at its Michigan headquarters and bringing community life in Flint, one of the classic one-industry, one-company towns of industrial America, to its knees.

"We know what they're doing," said Norm McComb, as he tried to organise the increasingly contentious

clashes under parasols wearing T-shirts and shorts, waving to passing motorists who beeped their horns in support as they headed off down the freeway towards Detroit. There are plenty of women on the picket line, and children too. This is also a multiracial strike.

But the pickets shared Mr McComb's view of what this dispute is about. "They want to take our jobs and ship them down to Mexico," said one. "They think they can monkey with us," said another, "but we won't let them destroy our jobs and our town."

The Flint strike began at the end of May, when, according to the union, GM management began using non-union contractors to shift machinery out of the metal-fabrication plant over a holiday weekend and install it in a separate plant in Mansfield, Ohio.

On June 5, the 3,400 workers walked out and accused GM of breaking its agreements. Although there have been intermittent talks since, both sides say there has been no progress in resolving the dispute.

Two weeks ago, 6,000 workers at a plant on the other side of Flint walked out, shutting down the supply of vital components for a range of GM vehicles and hastening the closure of the plant.

At the last count, 80,000 GM workers in up to 60 plants were idle, and workers as far afield as Alabama and New Jersey had been sent home. Industry watchers said last weekend that GM was close to a nationwide closure.

If that were to happen, up to 178,000 workers could be locked out or on strike, including, ironically, workers at the company's Canadian and Mexican plants. The cost of the strike so far is put at



On the cards... Car workers picket outside a General Motors plant in Flint

\$200 million, but if the whole company is shut down, then losses will mount to \$1 billion for every two weeks it lasts.

Prospects of an early end to the strike are clouded by two other factors. Last weekend the UAW gathered in Las Vegas for its triennial union convention. All the union's leaders, including its chief GM negotiator, Richard Shomer, were in Nevada rather than talking to management back in Michigan.

Second, the company is about to shut down for its summer vacation. GM has not managed change as effectively as its competitors. When Ford and Chrysler started building production plants, GM kept on. The company now has excess capacity, with too many workers, less than full stretch, though the union says this is because of poor investment in machinery.

But even union sources accept that more jobs must go. Over the past 20 years GM has shed 20,000 workers in Flint alone. Management

recently announced that Buick City, where one of its lines is manufactured, will shut in 1990 with the loss of another 2,800 jobs. By 2000 it is possible that GM will have shed an additional 11,000 Flint car workers. Change on that scale would be a civic catastrophe. The town has never had easy industrial relations. Now there is a sense of desperation.

As a result, industry analysts remain pessimistic. Most shopfloor workers, a UAW source admitted, take home more than \$50,000 a year, and many skilled workers at GM get closer to \$80,000, with good overtime deals. There are long queues for any vacancies.

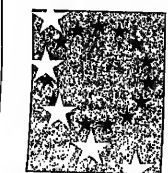
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Blair deflates the federalist balloon



Europe this week
Martin Walker

CARDIFF: Tony Blair wrapped up Britain's 1988 European summit and the summit itself with the UK president last week with the confidence claim of a "transformation in our relations with Europe."

"Europe has moved. There's a significant change that is happening," he said, in reference to the joint letter from Chancellor Helmut Kohl and President Jacques Chirac which stressed that "it cannot be the goal of European policy to establish a central European state."

line with British thinking, but not just British. The pressure for change has come from individual European countries.

The sentiments amounted to an unspoken Treaty of Cardiff: that Britain would drop the alienating rhetoric of being Euro-sceptic or self-styled Euro leader, while the European would embrace both the British's aversion to a centralised Euro state and move closer towards its free-market approach to economic reform.

Their common close to endorsement of the Blairite search for a common "Third Way" ideology which European socialist parties last week agreed to pursue in the short term. It will push forward reforms to liberalise tax policies, encourage entrepreneurs and sweep away impediments in job creation, improve skills training and create a flexible labour force. The European social model now has a distinct Anglo-Saxon flavour.

Margaret Thatcher would have enjoyed the Cardiff summit. So would Charles de Gaulle. Those twin advocates of a Europe of nation states jointly guarding their traditional grandeur and their constitutional prerogatives against the federalist tide could claim to have won the argument.

A mass conversion seems to have taken place among Europe's heads of government. They all now preach "subsidiarity" — clinging back the decision-making power from Brussels to national and local levels.

The gathering majority behind the proposal for a new European super-council of deputy prime ministers, to give the political weight and legitimacy of national states to the work of the European institutions in Brussels, signals the degree to which the member states — especially the smaller ones — want to keep Brussels in its place.

And yet there are contradictions here. The idea of a super-council of deputy PMs raises more questions than answers. There is a clear tendency for those personally engaged in Europe to go native — just consider successive British politicians who have gone to Brussels to become commissioners. There is also a prospect, which will not have been put on prime ministers' desks, that deputies entrusted with such European authority could become formidable alternative sources of power and even political rivalry.

Moreover this renewed sense of national authority follows the model of a federalist tide could claim to have won the argument.

sovereignty over all monetary and much economic authority to the unelected European Central Bank. And the final declaration from the Cardiff summit offered new responsibilities to the European Commission, to develop a "scoreboard" to assess progress to complete the EU's single market, to monitor both the national action plans to create jobs and stimulate the growth of small firms, and to police "improper" price differences across the EU single market.

What this means is that Blair, whose prime objective is to ensure that he holds power for at least two terms, has a clear sense of where he wants Europe to be a decade from now. From his warm support of the single currency, he evidently assumes that his prime ministerial salary will by then be paid in euros.

He also assumes that by then the Poles, Czechs and Hungarians, and the Maltese and the Swedes, will have created a Europe of at least 20 members. The Common Agricultural Policy will be no more, and the EU and North America will have established a free trade zone. Wales and Scotland will be self-governing nations looking as much to Brussels as to Westminster.

In this Blairite vision it does not matter if Blair wants Europe to be a different size of chair. They will by then be out of power. Blair, however, will be a still ambitious man of 55. The job of Secretary of State for Scotland, which he has brought to Scotland, and in its own special way, Northern Ireland.

"There are areas where we can cooperate and even integrate more

closely — fighting crime and unemployment, the environment and foreign policy," he said at Cardiff. "We have to work out the balance between the areas where we integrate, the areas where the nation states act, and the areas where the regions or the nations within a particular country interact."

There is the second point of Blair's vision. He has never had an electoral mandate, and he does not have a government party. If it did, there would be few ambitious politicians joining it now.

Colleagues in the administration of the chief executives, Tony Blair, now in the favour of the month, is Tony Blair, unlike Blair, nobody would join Tony's bandwagon.

A year or so ago, Tony Blair was on an entering office exceeded that of the outgoing governor, Chris Patten, and is responsible by international standards, but floundering in a society where respondents have always deferred answering political questions.

When he was riding high, Tony Blair would get away with some clunking words. One was that the annual celebration of 1914 to commemorate the death of Titmuss should be abandoned. He was told that 40,000 people turned out to mark the centenary of the end of the First World War, and the newspapers blazoned it across their front pages.

All of this may seem normal — a

June 29 1998

Dancing under the empire's shadow

Jonathan Fenby reports on life in Hong Kong under 'one country two systems'

DENG XIAOPING wasn't so wrong after all. As the paramount leader predicted — in words that shocked some of the more liberal-minded democrats of Hong Kong — racetracks will run and people still dance.

His most celebrated phrase has come true: the colony Britain handed back a year ago is now part of one country, but the world's most populous nation operates two systems — one for the 1.2 billion people of the mainland and another for the 6 million who have now lived for a year as inhabitants of the Special Administrative Region of the People's Republic of China.

Neither the people of Hong Kong nor the wider world seem to have realised what an extraordinary situation this has produced. Being able to bet on the horses is an activity the people of Hong Kong greatly prize — and some also cherish their right to gamble in the clubs of Wan Chai or in the casinos on the nearby island of Macau.

Last week we drank the eight way with the finest claret brought here by the Chinese owners of Bordeaux, and this week we will sip white wine from the vineyards of the North. Hong Kong is a unique place, a haven that never breaks. It is the only place in the world where you can go to a casino and a year ago never came to guessing.

To take three other examples that speak volumes about the way things have gone since the handover last year.

In May, Hong Kong had legislative elections. The polling arrangements were badly skewed to the advantage of democracy candidates. The turnout was unexpectedly high — at 53 per cent it was well above the 50 per cent target. The results were 70 per cent support and 20 seats. The main pro-British party increased its share of the vote from 15 to 25 per cent. The elections were followed by a run of populist Mo to the heads of even pro-British politicians. The next elections are in two years' time. Politicians are already jockeying for favour from the voters, and all the strong voices are coming from the opposition.

There is the second point of the elections. Hong Kong has never had an electoral franchise, and it does not have a government party. If it did, there would be few ambitious politicians joining it now.

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The People's Liberation Army stand guard outside the Prince of Wales barracks

democratic electoral sweep, strong criticism of a government buffeted by everything from the Asian economic crisis to bird flu, a continuation of the massacre — but it is happening on the soil of the last major power in the world run by a communist party.

It can be argued that Beijing does not need to intervene overtly. Certainly, it has enough friends to make sure things go its way. But so far that way has left Hong Kong a striking degree of latitude.

Despite the rolling-back of democracy, with two-thirds of the new legislature being chosen by generally conservative groups, the people have asserted their will to go on living as before, with the help of the civil society that surrounds them and which they sustain.

It wasn't meant to be this way. Twelve months ago the world's media were forecasting that this city would see Chinese tanks in the streets, a muzzled press, a rush of emigrants cashing in on the Canadian or Australian passports they had prudently acquired. Bill Clinton and Blair leaving stern calls for Beijing to live up to its obligations, demonstrators and democracy in jail.

Telephone me last August, a British magazine editor began by saying: "Not expelled yet?" More frenetic democrats were said to be teaching their children how to cook pot stickers so they shouldn't starve when mummy or daddy was clapped in jail.

On the other hand, business would be great. All those businessmen from the North would need offices and flats, so property prices would boom beyond their already ridiculous heights. Chinese companies after international finance would make Hong Kong the great corporate location centre over the world. Mainland money would pour into the stock market and send the index to levels never seen before.

Many friends announced that they would be out of Hong Kong for the summer — not because of fear of the People's Liberation Army, but because they would be able to rent out their flats to mainlanders for the equivalent of a five-star hotel on the Peking coast.

China has not materialised. Beijing has imposed draconian controls and officials in the capital complain that it is much harder to get to Hong Kong now than it was before the handover.

For the first time, Hong Kong has had two other major economic downturns. This time, it is qualitatively worse and qualitatively different. In the past, as one leading businessman remarked the other day, those who suffered were the rich and poor.

This time the middle class is in the firing line. They are overinvested in property and shares. They have taken out mortgages and overdrafts that are rendered crippling by the high interest rates that the defence of the dollar peg has brought.

They have not lost their view of themselves as special people, which I believe contributed powerfully to the high election turnout in May. They voted to assert their identity not as Chinese, but as Hong Kong Chinese. The message is all. A poll issued last weekend showed that 45 per cent thought the development of Hong Kong would have been better under Britain than under China, while 20 per cent saw no difference between the two, and only 10 per cent thought things would have gone worse under continuing British rule.

Who it comes to the economy, we are stronger than them," a Hong Kong woman said to me recently, reviewing the state of South-east Asia. Stronger than what? Indonesia in chaos, Malaysia fighting to remain the old man out in the International Monetary Fund's world. Thailand flailing the financial bottom?

Hong Kong's destiny is not down South. It is up North with China. This has always been a Chinese city. Chris Patten's greatest mistake was not to recognise what that meant in reality.

At midnight on June 30 last year, the city became the Special Administrative Region. It isn't perfect. But it is alive and kicking against all odds. — The Observer

Brethren with their minds set on booty

ALBANIA DIARY
Helena Smith

HE IS king of the roads. And in high Albania you quickly know it. Kishinskiy cocked, swagger in his hips, beer on his breath, the Albanian bandit is merciless. "Money or ya life," he screams at the relief workers and camera crews who come his way. And, with religious predictability, they delve into their pockets.

But now the highwaymen, sink on lawlessness and months of gun rate, have started to turn on their own. The arrival of thousands of "wealthy" ethnic Albanians from Kosovo has enriched their hunting ground.

Last week I witnessed an assault on a family of Kosovans who had just fled the fighting. Three minibus stood gutted and stripped. Trembling with fear, the group of men, women and children stood in a state of near-kneeshock next to it.

"Dirty boys, dirty boys," a teenager whose family had fled their battered Mercedes at high speed. "Dirty boys, dirty boys," shrieked his mother. "They are not our children," she said. "They are the children of the devil." The refugees have been crossing the border into the poorest part of Europe's poorest country, "poor and wide-eyed. Though many have relatives in the highlands, few have visited them and few now want to stay.

As they take in the wretched wasteland that is the former People's Socialist Republic — the fifth, the children playing around open sewers — more and more have begun to ask if life in the Greater Albania of their dreams. "We only eat weeds in boiled water here," says Shkurte, a teenager whose family fled to the forest for weeks before crossing the frontier. "There is not a minute in a day when we don't want to go back to Kosovo."

The highlanders would love to see their rocky mountains united with the fertile plains of Kosovo below. "That way lies our future," said one freedom fighter, recalling 1913, when the modern state of Albania was recognised at the London Peace Conference. "We are one people, divided by a terrible wall unfairly constructed by the Great Powers."

But Albania itself is partitioned, with southern clans attacking their lost homeland, and southern compatriots in the north. For them, Kosovo is a distant problem and one they would rather forget. "When communists fell it took us two weeks to realise that Kosovans were not our people," says Ferrok Cigaj, who heads the city's official news agency. "Drugs, prostitution, desert... all came out from Kosovo."

Kosovo may well ignite all-out war. But whatever happens in the Balkans, the real victims will be the thousands of refugees who are fast discovering they have no place to call home.

Jonathan Fenby is editor of the South China Morning Post
Fresh orle, page 18

The Week in Britain James Lewis

Prince reveals himself as an ordinary 16-year-old

PRINCE WILLIAM, next-but-one heir to the throne, celebrated his 16th birthday last weekend. This marked St James's Palace to stave out a mass of information about him in spite of the professed wish of his father, Prince Charles, that he should be protected from undue media scrutiny at least until he has finished his education.

The prince — still at Eton — seems a personable and agreeable young man with normal interests such as sport, reading adventure books, playing computer games and watching action films at the cinema. He says he finds it difficult to deal with the kind of teenage female adulation which greeted him on his recent visit to Canada.

This mind-numbing stuff was clearly an attempt to stop reporters from asking more personal and intrusive questions, such as whether he has a girlfriend. A special "birthday supplement" published by a Sunday newspaper a week earlier, which explained how the prince arranges dates with the sisters and friends of his Eton classmates, attracted the censure of Lord Wakeham, chairman of the Press Complaints Commission.

The commission has drawn up a code of conduct which, if it has been broadly observed, though details about his private life are proving harder to control. His official royal duties are unlikely to start until he has graduated, but when William's first girlfriend is discovered, an inevitably she will be, the gentlemanly consensus among editors will almost certainly collapse.

THE VOTERS of Northern Ireland were this week electing the new, power-sharing assembly they were offered in the Good Friday peace agreement. But far from bringing an end to the province's troubles, however, the assembly is just another step in the protracted "peace process".

The run-up to Thursday's voting not only emphasised the continuing tensions between the political parties in the province but created new ones between the parties at Westminster, where the approach has hitherto been consistently bipartisan.

The differences hinge mainly on the re-commissioning of paramilitary weapons, particularly the huge stocks thought to be held by the IRA. Do the weapons have to be handed over before terrorist prisoners are released, or before the IRA's

political wing, Sinn Féin, can be represented on the executive of the new assembly? The Conservative leader, William Hague, accused the Government of saying "Yes" on one occasion and "No" on another.

Confusion also reigned in the ranks of Ulster Unionist MPs over the release of prisoners, some voting one way and some another. The IRA and Sinn Féin, meanwhile, have had little to say about weapons decommissioning, though unofficially the suggestion is that weapons might be voluntarily handed over on other aspects of the deal — an early prisoner release, police reform and action on human rights — take place.

The show is, at least, still on the road and that must count enough for those who have campaigned to get it far.

THE HEALTH Secretary, Frank Dobson, announced a public inquiry into the deaths of 29 children who had heart surgery at Bristol Royal Infirmary as three doctors who treated them were found guilty of serious professional misconduct.

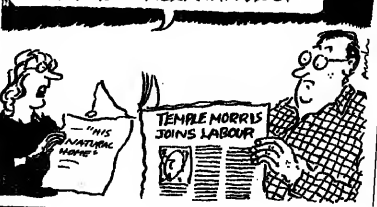
Two of the doctors were struck off the medical register by the General Medical Council and the third was suspended from practising for six months. The inquiry will not materially affect any of them: the two senior doctors have retired on full pensions and their colleagues gave up children's surgery three years ago.

There were angry scenes and shouts of "murderers" at the GMC hearing which found the three guilty of continuing to perform surgery in spite of warnings that too many babies were dying. Ninety-five children died or suffered brain treatment at the Bristol hospital, which faces legal claims that could total £20 million.

PETER TEMPLE-MORRIS, the veteran MP who was sacked from the Conservative party for defiance over Europe, finally defected to Labour with the extravagant claim that his new leader, Tony Blair, was "without doubt the most exciting political phenomenon on the European political stage".

Mr Temple-Morris, who has until now described himself as an Independent One-Nation Conservative, said he would stand down at the next election. He brushed aside Conservative demands that he should resign and submit to a by-election uninvitedly.

IT CAN'T BE LONG BEFORE BLAIR JOINS THE CONSERVATIVES.



Druids await the first rays of the sun at Stonehenge with staves and raised antlers

PHOTO: MICHAEL O'NEILL

Grey haze puts spell on summer solstice

IT WAS NOT looking good at 4.52am on June 21 at Stonehenge, writes John Vidal. The very moment the sun was meant to rise over the hazy Stonehenge and flood the giant arenas and boulders in a pure mid-summer light, a deep grey haze shrouded all Wiltshire.

"Still Ye Oh Sun," cried Rollo dromed, TV cameras whirled and a semicircle of security guards stared out into the half light watching for trouble. Still the sun wouldn't play. But if it missed its grand entrance and was now changing the unofficial welcome to the solstice, the police looked on anxiously.

Outside the circle, two half-dressed druids from the Temple of the Sun walked in a procession. The sun, which had been more on the dark side, was winter and the night, but this was not the case. It was all too much for Mattie, an apprentice druid. "This is a bit of a bollock, isn't it? It's performance art. If you want to see serious druidry, go north where there's real dressing up and showing off."

Blair does the honours

Lucy Ward

MELVYN BRAGG and the television entrepreneur Waheed Alvi were last week among a list of working peers intended by Tony Blair to dilute Conservative domination of the House of Lords.

The 27-strong list of life peers includes 18 nominated by the Prime Minister, together with the former Chancellor and eminent Euro-sceptic Norman Lamont and four Liberal Democrats.

Labour's nominees, drawn from business, public affairs and the trade unions as well as the Labour movement, included party donors and members of the close Blair circle. There was a peremptory outburst by general secretary Tom Stacey. Northern Foods chairman Christopher Hainkins and political consultant Mary Goudie, a fundraiser and behind-the-scenes party fixer in the lead-up to the 1997 election.

Reform of the Lords will start with a bill next autumn to abolish the vetoing rights of hereditary peers. But the Government has yet to decide on the second stage.

On Monday, Blair was in the mood to reward his loyalists. He was in the mood to reward his loyalists. He was in the mood to reward his loyalists.

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Riot case against asylum seekers falls to pieces

Alan Travis

THE case against eight West African asylum seekers accused of taking part in a riot at the Group 4-run Campfield House detention centre, near Oxford, last summer has collapsed. The evidence from the private security guards proved unreliable.

Despite calling more than 20 eye-witnesses, the prosecution conceded defeat after it was unable to clearly establish the identity of the rioters. Videotape evidence from 32 security cameras contradicted evidence given by witnesses.

The trial had been expected to last nine weeks and its collapse after only three weeks is an embarrassment to Group 4 and the Home Office. The charges carried sentences of up to 10 years.

The charges against one of the defendants, a 17-year-old, were dropped as he was too mentally ill to continue to stand trial and is now being treated in hospital. Three of the remaining eight defendants walked free. Two of them have already been granted asylum. The five others were taken back to detention while their asylum cases are considered.

During the course of the trial, the

GUARDIAN WEEKLY

June 28 1998

In Brief

BRITAIN has taken a leading role as the clean man of Europe by agreeing a legally binding cut of 12.5 per cent in greenhouse gas emissions in order to secure an EU-wide average cut of 8 per cent.

PREGNANT women and breast-feeding mothers should not eat products which contain mercury, such as tuna, swordfish or shark, the Government warned.

CHILDS arrive in primary schools with a much wider range than boys of the alphabet, numbers and every other aspect of early learning, the Government's curriculum advisers reported.

Washington Post, page 15

THE National Health Service will raise out of pocket payments for 300,000 dental actions in 1998 to recruit and train at least 1,000 more medical students a year, the British Medical Association warned.

THE Government faces an estimated £1.5 billion compensation bill after six young adults, who died developing AIDS from human growth hormone treatment they received as children, were taken to the High Court.

TOMMY GRAHAM, MP for Redferrish West, faces a £100,000 fine after being charged with labour party damage to the Labour party. He has been suspended since last summer after allegations of undermining a £100,000 Gordon McMaster, who committed suicide.

BRITISH law failed to protect a boy with autism and a girl with autism from sexual abuse by his stepfather, the European Court of Human Rights was told in the first case to force it on the rights of parents to sue for corporal punishment in the home.

THE DIANA, Princess of Wales Memorial Fund will continue funding its trustees despite calls by Earl Spencer for it to be wound up. The fund's income was used for "luxury" merchandising deals.

Two British soldiers trapped in a sub-zero condition for five days near the summit of Mount Kinley in Alaska, North America's highest peak, are recovering after a dramatic helicopter rescue.

HARRY BARNES, the veteran Labour MP, has insisted that he will not carry on as an effective MP without actually taking part in the House of Commons. He said he was "not a shadow MP" and that he would not be a "ghost" in the House.

ENNY GREEN, veteran BBC broadcaster, jazz musician and writer, has died aged 70.

GUARDIAN WEEKLY

June 28 1998

Guardian Reports

LOUISE WOODWARD, the nurse convicted of killing a nine-month-old boy returned to Britain last week amid intense media interest despite a judge's recommendation that she should not profit from her story.

By 4.3, the supreme court of Massachusetts of last week upheld the trial judge's controversial decision to reduce her original second-degree murder conviction to the manslaughter of Matthew Eappen. The boy's father said that he would launch a wrongful death law suit against Woodward. The seven judges also upheld Judge Hiller Zobel's decision to reduce her original 15-year sentence to the 27 days she had served on remand.

On Monday a posed Woodward said she was "fortunate" to spend only 27 days in jail after being convicted of the killing but continued strongly to protest her innocence. "I know I did everything I could, that everything I was capable of doing I did," she said on the BBC's Panorama programme, for which she received no payment. "I know that I did nothing to cause it."

She told Martin Bashir — the reporter famous for conducting the Princess Diana interview in 1995 — about the events of February 4 last year. "I lay him on the bed and tried to get some kind of response from him. I would not have been able to get any kind of response from him. So I tried to shake him lightly to try and get him to regain consciousness or to get some kind of reaction from him. And there was none, he was limp."

Press spared courts gag

Guardian Weekly

FEARIS that the press will face privacy controls laid down by judges were allowed on Monday when the Home Secretary announced strict guidelines on the powers of the courts to restrict reporting.

In an amendment to the Human Rights Bill, Jack Straw said that it was important that press freedom was safeguarded.

Under the amendment courts will have to pay "particular regard" to the right to freedom of expression when considering a case to restrict reporting.

Newspapers and broadcasters were concerned that the bill would leave judges to decide the law on privacy on a case-by-case basis.

The amendment means that Parliament retains much more

influence over what judges will be allowed to do.

The Government was concerned that if it did not act it would face a backlash from the press.

Under the amendment any court trying a case involving journalistic, literary or artistic material will have to consider "the public interest" and the relevant privacy code. In most cases the code operated by the Press Complaints Commission.

It strengthens Article 10 of the European Convention, concerning freedom of expression, while saying that judges must take into account Article 8, the right to privacy.

Mr Straw said: "People deserve protection from unjustified interference in their private life. Our amendment does not sanction that kind of behaviour, but it does safeguard legitimate journalistic activity. We have to strike a balance, and an amendment that we have got it right."

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The Government was concerned that

Labour trumpet cautious minimum pay deal

Seema Mills and Michael White

ONLY Blair's cabinet made a virtue of its calculated caution over Britain's first national minimum wage last week after ministers proclaimed the "end of the scandal of poverty pay" for 2 million workers and fended off criticism over watering down the Low Pay Commission's proposals.

While some trade union leaders and leftwingers attacked the "clerical-picking" of the commission's report, surprising figures such as Dennis Skinner rallied to the Government's defence when the president of the Board of Trade, Margaret Beckett, made her historic announcement to the Commons.

To Downing Street's satisfaction, a combative Mrs Beckett put a brave face on her defeat by the Chancellor, Gordon Brown, over the details of the new system which will see 18- to 21-year-olds initially get only £3 an hour — and apprentices and 16- to 18-year-olds no guaranteed minimum at all.

A £3.60 hourly rate for adults will come into effect next spring, as the commission warned, but the Government has decided to stage the youth rate — it will rise to £3.20 in June 2000 — and extend it to cover 21-year-olds.

About 1.4 million part-time women workers, whose pay has

leaves his interventions have protected his New Deal on jobs and training for young people.

Union leaders said they were disappointed at the changes made to the commission's report, but regarded the legal floor as a historic breakthrough which could be built



on. But Bill Morris, leader of the Transport and General Workers' Union, damned the Government's decision as "an endorsement of workplace powerlessness. One government sound bite said that the Chancellor had made a "log's breakfast" of the issue.

"gossip circle" which has also put a question mark, almost certainly wrongly, against her ministerial future in Mr Blair's reshuffle.

The Confederation of British Industry offered grudging support while echoing Tory fears that it would mean job losses. Mrs Beckett's

let's Tory shadow, John Redwood, simultaneously denounced the principle of a minimum wage while complaining that Labour had breached its election pledge to introduce "a decent one".

Patrick Wintour adds: The bruising battle between Mr Brown and the Treasury's insistence that the

Trade ministers, backed by the Communication Workers' Union, oppose even a partial sale, warning that once a minority stake is sold it will be only a small step to full privatisation. They believe the Post Office should be an independent, publicly owned firm, free to raise capital without adding to the public

Ministers are to complete a review of options for the Post Office next month, and make a decision in the autumn. Selling a minority stake was included at the last minute at the Treasury's insistence.

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£3.60 an hour? Bloomin' luxury!

PARLIAMENTARY SKETCH
Simon Hoggart

IN the circumstances, Margaret Beckett did rather well. She had lost her great cabinet struggle with Gordon Brown, who sat next to her nodding gravely as she made her statement about the National Minimum Wage.

You expected him to mutter: "Aye, that needed saying. If you wanted to keep your job, that is."

In short, Mrs Beckett was in the position of a Middle East hostage forced to video a confession of her crimes.

"We will begin to end the scandal of poverty pay," she said, to a shout

of "Who's this we?" from Tories. When she got to the part about the differential — ie, lower — wage for 18-21 year olds (or, "we are mindful of the need to protect the position of young people" as the Government, with its command of the euphemistical paradox, prefers to put it), someone yelled: "Eat your words and eat them slowly."

The Tories weren't going to let her forget her embarrassment. The Government's embarrassment, she said, was in a "framework of partnership," and they bawled out with laughter at the very idea.

John Redwood replied. The ambitious Tory spokesman doesn't just mix metaphors but puts them into a cement mixer for half an hour. The

minimum wage would "throw petrol on the inflationary flames". Pay rises were "fool's gold". This, he said, "the Moda and Rockers government", and the minimum wage would prove "as effective as go-faster stripes on a scooter".

Mr Redwood charged on, finishing with a flourish: "This is back to the bad old ways, back to the bad old days", the effect only slightly spoiled by a Labour cry of "And back to your planet!"

Dennis Skinner then baffled everyone by saying that every worker got payments in kind and that tips should not be taken into account when fixing the minimum wage. "Because, if they were, mixers would be in serious trouble."

"I don't have any recollection of being tipped," said Mrs Beckett tartly.

A curious competitive Three Yorkshiremen sketch began. Chris Mullin cited someone in his constituency paid \$9p an hour. Chris Pond, formerly of the Low Pay Unit, said that was nothing: he knew of jobs which paid 49p. Mrs Beckett herself had cited 35p an hour.

But how far would they go? "35p? Luxury! Ah! We've got a constituent who earns 'p an hour'!"

"Seven pence? That's good money, that is. We've lawyers earning 1p a day!"

"If they get wages? Listen, in my constituency, the heart surgeons have only £10 an hour. They have to pay to work. And they have to pay through lunch break 'em all, and if they want food they've to eat their own dogs..."

Lawrence family get Met apology

David Pallister

THE Metropolitan Police commissioner, Sir Paul Condon, last week made an unprecedented apology to the parents of the murdered teenager Stephen Lawrence for failing to bring his killers to justice.

Sir Paul's message of contrition was delivered by assistant commissioner Ian Johnston at the public inquiry into Stephen's racist murder in 1993.

Mr Johnston said: "Mr Lawrence, I wanted to say to you that I am truly sorry that we let you down. On behalf of myself and the commissioner, who specifically asked me to associate himself with these words, and the whole of the Metropolitan Police, I offer my sincere and deep apologies to you."

Outside the inquiry Mr Lawrence said: "Whilst we accept the commissioner's apology, we do not forget that Stephen's killers are still free."

He added quietly: "We would like now to have the commissioner here himself... to apologise."

The apology, on the 45th day of the inquiry, spoke of the tragedy of losing a son. It went on: "It has been a tragedy for the Metropolitan Police, who have lost the confidence of a significant section of the community for the way we have handled the case..."

Comment, page 12

Battle of the Titans in Downing Street

COMMENT
Andrew Marr

ONE GOVERNMENT, two Prime Ministers? Gordon Brown's crushing defeat of Margaret Beckett over the minimum wage last week has sent mother waves of talk through Whitehall about the awesome power of the Chancellor.

The Treasury has always been the civil great power to No 10. Its reach takes it into the detail of the spending departments; its overview of the economy makes it central to strategic thinking. But few modern Chancellors have bulked as large as Brown. To his admirers, Brown has become Labour's de facto leader, a politician of genius. Blair, meanwhile, he is a building, sitting atop a mountain of admirers but Brown is the captain of the ship, sole master of the quarterdeck. To his enemies, however, he is a bullying, meddling, over-reaching himself and endangering the unity of the crew.

The voyage couldn't have started better. Brown's coup in freeing the Bank of England was brilliant. The first two Budgets were very well received. But the comprehensive spending review has been a bloody process.

His himself has confronted his Chancellor about the way in which he is — in another minister's words — "been making misstatements... to the public..."

Very sorry and very sorry that we have let you down. Looking back now I can see we could have and should have done better. I deeply regret that we have not put his killers away."

The grit of mistrust is being dribbled into the machinery of government

in advance. But, however odd it might seem, No 10 is outside the inner Treasury loop.

Brown works in almost monastic seclusion, with his advisers Ed Balls and Charles Whelan. It ensures tight secrecy, but officials feel cut out and underplayed — and No 10 isn't sure what is happening next door. Add to this the political effect of the three-year spending deal. This introduces long-termism to departments that may well go to the priorities and annual budgeting. But a side effect is that it gives the Chancellor personal power over a wide range of smaller issues, since all changes between now and the next election will be contingency reserve matters.

Traditionally, Downing Street has been relatively light about the detail of other departments, but it now intends to move among departments as vigorously as any team from the Treasury.

Provocatively, the person expected to take control of the next phase of a stronger Cabinet Office No 10 operation is Peter Mandelson, now Brown's sworn enemy. The grit of mistrust is being dribbled into the machinery of government in a thin, constant stream. The grinding and the smoke can be experienced up and down Whitehall. Ministers grumble and speculate constantly on Brownites and Blairites. One man in

the Blair camp guesses that the lack of mutual support raises the effectiveness of the whole administration by about 20 per cent — an astonishing reflection.

How much are the principals to blame for this? Blair never bad-mouths Brown, at least when out-siders are present, though he listens intently to those who do. Brown has been responsible for some verbal digs about Blair that have been repeated outside his circle. He also led the now-notorious biography about him by Paul Routledge, which stirred up the old bitterness of the leadership contest.

All of this is small-scale — though debilitating enough — so long as the two are not fundamentally divided on the big questions of politics. But does it go further than this? Are there really distinctive "Brownite" and "Blairite" camps?

There is certainly a profound difference of culture and political style represented by the two men. Brown is the warm, complex tribe that is the Labour party. He knows Labour's levers, instincts, traditions, circles. Blair, by contrast, would find this simply baffling. Crucially, Blair does not believe in equality. He is not a social democrat. He has no en-

thusiasm for organised labour, no sentimental attachment to the post-war settlement. He feels himself to be a different kind of politician, more responsive to Middle England rather than Labour Scotland. In his speeches he almost fetishises change and modernity. He is a market radical with sleek social instincts. But he's no kind of socialist.

Luckily for Blair and Brown, this difference doesn't yet show up on any crucial issues of economic management. But economics is not the issue. The debate about the future of Labour as sole vessel of power is the place where ambition and political principle collide. It affects the very shape of politics. And if the

Blairite-Brownite thing ever turns to war, this is the issue.

There is, in short, a real divide between the two men. Their government remains young, vigorous and astonishingly successful. But it has not yet been properly tested by the pressures of its own success.

Should that success change everything, so that Blair's presidential charisma and feel for non-Labour Britain overtakes the social democratic machine which raised him to his current height? Or do we return to party politics where Brown becomes a conventional Labour Prime Minister, when Britain forgets Blairism?

As Whitehall spends a sultry June waiting for the first Blair reshuffle, a surprising number of people are thinking and talking of little else. — *The Observer*

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Passport stalemate as Bermuda fears British invasion

Ian Black and Lucy Ward

MOVES to grant British citizenship to the inhabitants of Britain's last fragments of empire are in crisis over Home Office demands that the colonies must return the favour by opening their doors to all UK citizens.

In an extraordinary role reversal, an affluent dependent territory such as Bermuda and the Cayman Islands are refusing the right to claim British passports on the grounds that granting

reciprocal rights could lead to an influx of UK immigrants seeking a new life in the Caribbean.

The Home Office is attaching to the condition even though it is unlikely to any but a handful of the 130,000 residents of the 13 last colonies would seek to settle in Britain.

They are small islands and have a very high standard of living," said Suzanne Stubbs, UK representative for Bermuda. "If the whole of the Southeast of England decided they were fed up with the climate here and

trotted off to Bermuda that would be horrendous. We don't want to be swamped."

The impasse over citizenship has held up the white paper by the Foreign Secretary, Robin Cook, on the future of Britain's last colonies, due before the end of the parliamentary session, now only weeks away.

"It is totally stuck," said one source. "It needs someone to wade in and force a decision." Mr Cook indicated in February his desire to restore citizenship rights — lost in 1962 — to

the populations of outposts from Pitcairn to the Turks and Caicos Islands. He believes all should have full passports as he is not to discriminate against black Caribbeanans. Officials say he thought the unconditional rights given to the largely white populations of Gibraltar and the Falklands, both claimed by foreigners, could be replicated.

Currently the 13 last colonies have only British Dependent Territory status, which does not guarantee the right to live and work in the UK.

Comforting Illusions on China

OPINION
Jim Hoagland

SOME Republicans skirt close to charging Bill Clinton with treason in his dealings with China, putting the president on the defensive as he prepares for a nine-day trip to the Middle Kingdom. Such partisan overstatement obscures the real problems, and the real politics, of the upcoming voyage.

The diplomatic strategy behind the presidential journey is flawed, not fatal or felonious. The United States is strong enough to survive the Clinton China policy (which greatly resembles those of his Republican predecessors) and Beijing's relatively feeble attempts to buy influence and advanced, military technology in the American marketplace.

It is the contribution this trip makes to the erosion of Clinton's credibility in the world that should be the primary concern of presidential critics and friends alike.

Clinton has already shown himself to have scant concern for the truth on a wide variety of subjects. He does not need to go to Tian-

men Square to remind the world of his extraordinary talent to deceive others, and, arguably worse, in a politician, to deceive himself when that is convenient.

But that is the situation he is setting up. His China trip is being scripted around a set of fictions. Clinton joins the Chinese in manipulating himself for their purposes, which he mistakes as identical to his own.

The most important fiction is that this trip is about changing the values and policies of China. It is in fact a trip dedicated to changing American perceptions and politics, to get the American public at large to accept the anodyne, uncritical view of China now firmly entrenched in the ranks of American business leaders and academic specialists.

The trip is being preceded not only by the spin sessions White House aides routinely provide for journalists but also by extraordinary advertising campaigns sponsored by Boeing, Mobil and other U.S. corporations pleading for understanding and political support for the Chinese Communist government's efforts to secure a special place in the world trading system.

Clinton argues that the strong

words he will utter about America's commitment to human rights will eclipse the images of his warm embrace of China's leaders. He promises to negate the symbolism of his participating in an arrival ceremony on June 24 at the edge of Tiananmen Square, where Chinese troops slaughtered hundreds of peaceful pro-democracy demonstrators on June 4, 1989.

The ceremony at the square will be "a five-minute deal," with Clinton making no public statement there, Samuel R. (Sandy) Berger, the president's national security adviser, said on a visit to The Washington Post the other day.

But in China, the site of the arrival ceremony is now about politics, not protocol. The last foreign dignitary to visit China before the massacre was the student leader Mikhail Gorbachev, who was greeted at Beijing airport to keep him away from the students, who had gathered in Tiananmen to endorse Gorbachev's pro-democracy reforms.

Douglas Paul, president of the Asia-Pacific Policy Center and George Bush's national security adviser on Asia, takes this view: "The Chinese began absolutely in-

sisting that the arrival ceremony be held in the square after 1988, to make a political point. Before that the ceremony was often at the airport. Look at the photograph of Zhou Enlai greeting President Nixon [in 1972]."

A small detail? Berger clearly thinks so. "We can achieve more in advancing the cause of political freedom by not making the trip for the Chinese totally about Tiananmen, which it certainly would have been if we had declined to go, but about human rights. They made it very clear. This is where they do it."

But this is more than detail. It is characteristic of the administration's avoidance of inconvenient facts, and of its refusal to acknowledge the enormous importance that such details of form possess in Chinese society. Much of what Clinton and his aides don't know about China — from Tiananmen welcoming ceremonies to shipments of nuclear technology to Pakistan — exists because they determinedly don't want to know.

Republicans look at this trip and cry treason. Clinton looks past the corporate greed, political ego and strategic miscalculation that have shaped it to see the best of all worlds. Each side pretends to be a realist. Clinton looks at the illusion to the mixed reality of an emerging China.

Woodward's Case of Trial And Error

EDITORIAL

LOUISE WOODWARD, freed after an appeals court upholds her manslaughter conviction in the death of 8-month-old Matthew Eppens, arrived home in England last week and — in a her first public utterance — complained that she had not received a fair trial. Blaming "sleazy pre-trial publicity," she called on "the medical community" to clear her of any involvement in the baby's death.

Grant that this is a very young woman, talking, one who has been through an ordeal, far from home. Grant, too, that she has a right to maintain her innocence. That granted, it would still be a travesty to accept Woodward's valuation of herself as the victim in this sad affair or to remember it as a tragedy for the Eppens family — not to mention the baby, whose death, in any case, was a tragedy in itself.

Adolescent girls are getting more of a sense of entitlement in today's world and feeling better, but some may be acting this out in ways that are not so healthy," said Lynn Phillips, author of *The Girls Report*, recently with a book on teenage academic and government sources.

There are ways we want girls to catch up with boys, but there are also ways we want boys to catch up with girls.

Some of the progress girls have made results from public policies and private efforts — to enhance math, science and sports programs for girls, for example. But more social pressures have also had an effect, pushing girls to follow the less desirable patterns set by boys in other ways.

While 13 percent of eighth grade girls reported smoking in 1991, the report shows that figure increased to 21 percent in 1996, a faster increase than that for boys. And nearly 17 percent of eighth grade girls used marijuana in 1996, compared to just over 5 percent in 1991.

In his report, the National Council for Research on Women dealt with

from suffering under Woodward might initially be sold to have received extraordinary leniency from the American courts. When a jury convicted her of second-degree murder, her lawyers begged the judge to reverse the effects of their own bold gambit of insulating the jurist between them and outright acquittal. When the judge granted that request, he reduced the conviction to manslaughter, a misdemeanor, and assigned a sentence of 270 days, or time served, well below the recommended minimum for the crime. Her luck held through the appeal to the Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court, which, while upholding the conviction, declined to lengthen the sentence and noted that the judge's error — in allowing the lawyers' murder-or-outright gambit — should not harm the defendant.

Woodward has insisted she has no intention of selling her story to the Eppenss, nonetheless, have filed a probably unenforceable wrongful death suit against her in Massachusetts.

That allegation suggests La Niña's nature of rectifying the heat imbalance El Niño represents. In 1988, it took two months for the Pacific surface to chill by 7 degrees Fahrenheit (4 degrees Celsius).

This year, the temperature of the coldest parts has dropped twice as much in half the time, and is already about 7 degrees below average.

"That's unprecedented speed," said Michael J. McPhaden, who directs the Tropical Atmosphere and Ocean (TAO) sensor array program for the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration.

Given the agreement of satellite and surface measurements, as well as a majority of computer models, the National Centers for Environmental Prediction are calling for a cold episode to develop over the next six months "and continue through the northern 1998-99 winter."

It is not uncommon, though not inevitable, for La Niña to follow El Niño. It has done so three times in

Nerve Gas Allegations

Howard Kurtz

RETIRED Maj. Gen. Perry says the Persian Gulf War, has resigned to protest the network's airing of allegations that U.S. troops used nerve gas against Iranian deserters in Laos in 1970.

Smith quit after failing to convince Tom Johnson, chairman of the CNN News Group, that the network needed to retract the story, which aired on June 7 and was also published in *Time* magazine.

"I can't work for an organization that would do something like this and not fuss up to it," Smith said last week. "When there's something on CNN of a military nature, there's an assumption by at least part of the military audience that I have approved this. I couldn't in good conscience allow work for them. I had to break it off. It was just something I couldn't do."

CNN spokesman Steve Hovav said Smith "leaves with our respect" and that CNN is still investigating the nerve gas story. But, he said, "more than 200 interviews and eight months of research leave us continuing to believe that sarin gas was used on this mission, one of the purposes of which was to kill American deserters."

A bestselling author and speaker who served 30 years in the Air Force, Smith is based in Augusta, Georgia, and teaches ethics and management to business, war colleges and corporations.

Smith flew 130 combat sorties over Laos from 1968 to 1969 and said he never heard of lethal gas being used. He said he has consulted such former high-ranking military officials as Colin Powell and Norman Schwarzkopf, who assured him that no nerve gas was used by the United States during the war. Smith quoted Schwarzkopf as calling the allegation "ridiculous."



Tornado effect in Florida: La Niña is likely to herald more Atlantic hurricanes

PHOTO: CHRIS OWEARA

La Niña Bids El Niño a Cold Farewell

Curt Supple

THE INFAMOUS El Niño that has upset weather patterns worldwide since last fall will be followed by an opposite but similarly disruptive phenomenon, an oceanic cold episode called La Niña, according to a growing consensus of climate scientists.

In the United States, that means northern states west of the Great Lakes probably will have an uncommonly severe and soggy winter, whereas the recently sodden Southeast will be comparatively mild and dry. High temperatures and low precipitation are likely for the Southwest. In short, "This will be quite a dramatic away from last year's pattern," said Vernon E. Koussky of the National Weather Service.

That's because conditions in the Pacific Ocean seem to be heading into a wholesale reversal of the El Niño situation that has dominated U.S. weather for eight months.

El Niño arises from an abnormal accumulation of hot surface water in

the eastern equatorial zone. La Niña is caused by colder-than-average sea surface temperatures in that area. And the marine mercury has begun sinking fast.

In 1988, it took two months for the Pacific surface to chill by 7 degrees Fahrenheit (4 degrees Celsius).

This year, the temperature of the coldest parts has dropped twice as much in half the time, and is already about 7 degrees below average.

"That's unprecedented speed," said Michael J. McPhaden, who directs the Tropical Atmosphere and Ocean (TAO) sensor array program for the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration.

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GUARDIAN WEEKLY
June 28 1998

Teenagers Closing Gap Between Sexes

Girls catch up with boys in both positive and negative ways, write Barbara Vojelja and Linda Perlestein

A GENERATION after a great national rethinking of gender roles and the forces that classify children by their sex, the results are in: American girls are becoming more like boys — and it isn't always a pretty picture.

Girls have virtually caught up with boys in math performance and science. But they are now smoking, drinking and using drugs as often as boys their age. And though they are not nearly as violent as boys, girls are increasingly more likely to find their way into trouble with the law.

A status report released last week by a consortium of universities and research agencies describes the nation's young females as a population stepping out of many traditional stereotypes that have defined girls for generations. And that, it is becoming clear, can be both good and bad.

"Adolescent girls are getting more of a sense of entitlement in today's world and feeling better, but some may be acting this out in ways that are not so healthy," said Lynn Phillips, author of *The Girls Report*, recently with a book on teenage academic and government sources.

There are ways we want girls to catch up with boys, but there are also ways we want boys to catch up with girls.

Some of the progress girls have made results from public policies and private efforts — to enhance math, science and sports programs for girls, for example. But more social pressures have also had an effect, pushing girls to follow the less desirable patterns set by boys in other ways.

While 13 percent of eighth grade girls reported smoking in 1991, the report shows that figure increased to 21 percent in 1996, a faster increase than that for boys. And nearly 17 percent of eighth grade girls used marijuana in 1996, compared to just over 5 percent in 1991.

In his report, the National Council for Research on Women dealt with

girls of elementary school age through college. Among its findings were:

While girls are still less violent than boys to be arrested for violent crimes, the rate at which they are being arrested for these crimes increased faster than that for boys between 1980 and 1995.

Girls participate in a wider range of sports and exercise more than ever before, but they still lag far behind boys. And a federal study found that the percentage of high school sophomore girls participating in sports declined from 40 percent in 1980 to 41 percent a decade later, while male participation remained even at 63 percent.

After years of concern about girls falling boys in math performance, a 1996 test administered by the U.S. Department of Education found no significant differences between average scores for eighth and 12th grade girls and boys.

In science, girls perform about as well as boys until the 12th grade, when boys' average scores pull ahead and more boys excel in science.

Although much of what the girls say "fascinate" it also challenges many popular stereotypes. It questions, for example, the notion that adolescent girls are doomed to go through a period of low self-esteem or that the teen years are inevitably filled with angst and stress.

It also makes clear that, despite their convergence with boys on some measures, in many important ways, girls remain very different.

They twice as likely to be depressed as boys, for example. And a federal survey of high school students found that 34 percent of girls see themselves as overweight, compared to 22 percent of boys. Nearly two out of three of the girls were attempting to lose weight.

Racial differences among girls are important in many instances. African American girls, for example, have more positive perceptions of their own bodies than do white and



In the United States the percentage of girls using tobacco is rising much faster than for boys

PHOTO: ALAN MOTHNER

Hispanic girls. And black girls are significantly less likely to smoke than girls of other races or African American boys.

The also found that girls are frequently the victims of violent crime. It cited studies estimating that be-

tween one third and one fourth of girls are sexually victimized by the time they finish high school. That includes a range of experiences from rape to sexual harassment. Nearly two-thirds of rape victims are under 17 years old, the report said.

Investigators say the main reason Arizmendi has eluded capture and operates with such brazenness is that he has protected himself by paying off police and other law-enforcement authorities. Police allegedly have carried out abductions and torture in collusion with his group, as well as independently. Furthermore, the various investigative agencies involved in the search for Arizmendi have been criticized for a lack of coordination and intelligence sharing.

Kidnapping in this country of 96 million people, as in other parts of Latin America, has become a boom industry, viewed as a way to transcend poverty with minimal risk, given the Mexican justice system's limitations and corruption.

Over the last three years, authorities have logged nearly 1,800 abductions, but the actual number is believed to be much higher. The attorney general's office in February announced the creation of an inter-agency kidnapping unit, but jurisdiction. Since then, however, at least one of its agents has been arrested on charges of kidnapping.

Kidnapper Strikes Fear in Mexicans

Serge F. Kovaleski
in Mexico City

IN THE thriving world of Mexican kidnappers, Daniel Arizmendi Lopez is second to none. A former car thief who is now believed to be a multimillionaire, he has rolled Mexico with his sheer, if not gratuitous, brutality, his savage tormenting of hostages' families and his Hindu-like elusiveness.

In a country increasingly plagued by violence, Arizmendi, 38, is Mexico's most-wanted fugitive, the focus of the largest manhunt in recent Mexican history.

Law enforcement authorities and legions of psychologists and sociologists have tirelessly tried to decipher Arizmendi's mind from afar. Recently, however, he has first-hand glimpses of his psyche when he called the Mexican newspaper *El Heraldo* and talked with a reporter.

In discussing his trademark practice of shooting off captives' ears, Arizmendi still he resorts to such terror "because my relatives, have the money, do not want to give it to me. I have told them, 'You will finish you and me. You have become so ambitious, for wanting the money, you will finish me.'"

"If there is something I fear it is jail and poverty," he said. "I do not fear death, you can be sure of that."

Investigators say Arizmendi leads a criminal ring that has reaped tens of millions of dollars through abductions over the last eight years, mostly in central Mexico and here in the capital. He has brought horror into the lives of many families, most of them wealthy; mauling and killing some of the victims, ransoming some of his female hostages — even after relatives had come up with the large ransoms he demanded. Mexican officials have said.

One estimate puts Arizmendi's earnings at more than \$400 million, the majority of which was made during the second half of last year by targeting affluent businessmen. Fear that Arizmendi and his gang of gunmen could strike at any time has led to a growing demand for private security.

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Turning Back the Wheels of Time

COMMENT
Ellen Goodman

"WELL, I'm off, wish me luck," he says my fellow traveler as he rolls his carry-on bag down the aisle out of the plane. "I'll come back with you and your family."

He adds with an Odyssean touch as he disappears into the terminal.

We have flown together up the East Coast to the town that this man grew up in and that his parents still call home. Between the long delayed and landing, he described the choices he made to get to where he is now. He said before him to consider his 83-year-old father to give up his place in the driver's seat.

The past year, his father's lingering illness has come to conflict with his driving eyeight. One car accident seemed to follow the next until finally he drove over the curb and into a

neighbor's trash barrels. Next time, the family worries, it could be a neighbor's child.

The task of key removal has failed to succeed. The man, a 50-year-old manager, by birth order and default, his mother had said, "I can't talk to him about it. His brother had demurred. He listens to you and your family."

He brought a bucket and took on a job that loomed as an unexpected and unwelcome filial chore.

What was on this son's mind as he circled Providence on route to the last roundup of the old man's Taurus? The middle-aged son was remembering the time, 40 years ago, when his father had said, "I'm going to drive. They're going to take away my license. I'm going to stop, start, park. The older man gave the younger his wheels.

It was a rite of passage to inde-

pendence that this son repeated with his own sons — with a car that had automatic drive and a teacher with less patience. Now it has come to this, he said usually, a much less welcome rite of return passage.

As we part company it occurs to me that my fellow traveler has not carried over Providence on route to the last roundup of the old man's Taurus? The middle-aged son was remembering the time, 40 years ago, when his father had said, "I'm going to drive. They're going to take away my license. I'm going to stop, start, park. The older man gave the younger his wheels.

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Hane Johnson

FEW settings convey a society's underside better than abandoned buildings. Amid a confluence of lives and labors disregarded and prospered that moved elsewhere. When in a novel's first pages such an elite's rubble-strewn floor becomes a murder scene and the surroundings take shape as present-day London, the stage seems set for a gritty urban mystery.

After the corpse of a young man appears on the second page, the first character to emerge is Sean Hennessy, divorced, fortyish, a frustrated would-be British politician and two-time grieving dad. His search through London for a long-lost foster son — the boy — leads him to an or-

Through the conventions they perpetuate about social lives, *Survivor* critics, such as the late Vito Russo, have noted the ease with which writers have been able to make gay characters rather than what other futures they might face. The deaths of the two most prominent homosexual characters in *The Boy in the Dress* up a red flag. The deaths of the novel's virgins far outweigh the deaths of its gays.

Yet even good poets can fall prey to affectations. The allusion to the "sacred" Richard II and "his English" in the first chapter of the first chapter-matter scene seems out of place.

But the boy's problems with the streets show how far he has come. The boy's rough life on the streets somehow fails to mar his beauty or break his seamless innocence, while he has achieved wisdom beyond that of any scholar's dull diary entries from Hennessy's deceased daughter, Megan, who clung to the boy's hand.

It displays a powerful empathy for the boy who moves uncertainly among the wastelands of a thriving city and the governance of Britain's new Labor government. The boy is "not yet quite better." It captures the vulnerability of children, on whom the burdens of adulthood sometimes seem too heavy.

Like the abandoned buildings that are his backdrop, The Boy makes it hard for readers to take their eyes off him. After such a brief tour of the novel, it is no surprise this author sets out to explore the

Michael Olinert

WHAT mad pursuit? What struggle to escape? Keats said when he came to consider that Grecian urn, indulging his historical imagination. Just so, Tim Severin has queried the past and given us two books in one: a travel adventure and a ripping-yarn biography. Both enter on the life of the pioneering evolutionary biologist (and serious rival to Darwin) Alfred Russel Wallace (1823-1913).

Severin has made a career out of recreating others' bad trips: Sindbad, Ulysses, Marco Polo. St. Brendan bobbing up and down in a leather coracle. Many have tried

In 1854, Wallace went out to Indonesia to collect rare plants and animals. Every night, he'd meticulously work up his field notes, with his specimens, and then labor on his journal, despite pitched fevers and constant suppurring sores. He lived on a gift for "tireless scrutiny" of nature, the art of ceaseless and deductive observation.

Then, for four years, Wallace wandered the eastern Malay archipelago (the Moluccas or Spice Islands), hitching his way on native boats called *prahu*s. Severin had built a craft made for himself and a team, using methods involving wooden pegs rather than nails, dead reckoning rather than actual measuring, and great square-rigged

saills. Not that it was difficult to find craftsman capable of minkimg a mid-19th century *prahu*; the boats are still in common use today, though for the island trips, not open-ocean ventures.

Severin reproduced Wallace's four years in just four months, revisiting most of Wallace's stops, looking for the same birds and threatened creatures that so amazed and inspired Wallace. Wallace saw black cockatoos, birds that use a leaf as a tool with which they firmly hold and crack open their slippery nut. The open-wattle cockatoo, a bird of white cockatooes with a patch of the leaf track, and this difference in the species gave the black birds the nutritional and environmental leverage to survive. It's one of the animal behavior aspects of Wallace thinking about evolution.

Wallace produced his 4,000-word *Tendency of Varieties to Depart from Their Original Type* in February of 1844, on the island of Ternate and mailed it off to

Darwin. Darwin said he received the letter on June 18, but claimed no real solution to the problem of the origin of life had already occurred to him, on June 8 he even remembered the very "spot on the road" where the Darwensene event happened.

In any case, the result was the hurried and infamous joint reading on July 1 to the Linnean Society in London, of Wallace's paper. Wallace, confused perhaps by Darwin (but not presented by him), in fact, Wallace precipitated Darwin into action. Within 18 months, Darwin's book was to storm the intellectual world by taking the intellectual scholarchy high ground, to avoid the less useful than any other 19th-century scientific work. (Wallace was in the Pacific Islands during all this.)

Ever since has done a great job voyaging in Darwin's wake, attempting to reconstruct his series of events and astonishment and the slow dawning message that nature was

holding out to mankind. But by closely following Wallace's lead in *The Malay Archipelago* (1869), Severn also shows us an intellect in turmoil. Wallace had gone back to beach with Darwin, and Wallace had blinked.

A generous and probably Jacobine-deferential man, Wallace always called the theory of evolution "Darwinism," and he wrote his book to the great man. But the Wallace persona seems a bit too controlled and safe, never pierced by self-consciousness or any triumphant awareness of his self-worth. He emerged from the working class as a man resigned to his lot, not the neglected Darwinian who was to paraphrase Philip Larkin, he never climbed clear of his wrong beginnings.

Severn's science and his historical imagination are both suggestive and enlightening. His book has the quality of being both a bug and a hoagie but it also has heart.

Tom Gleiten

IN THE time of fighting and negotiation, the presidents of Bosnia, Serbia and Croatia impressed out-aiders mostly with their stubbornness. Alija Izetbegovic focused so squarely on the suffering of his Muslims that he could not acknowledge the pain of others. Slobodan Milosevic was second to none as a master of denial and evasion. Franjo Tudjman imagined himself a great statesman but did not measure up in moments of crisis.

"Once enraged," writes Richard Holbrooke, "these leaders needed outside supervision to stop themselves from self-destruction." Holbrooke was one of the few diplomats with the skill and temperament to handle the supervisory assignment. Over a four-month period in the summer and fall of 1995, he directed the exhaustive and complex negotiations that led to the Dayton peace agreement. He brought to the task an scrupulous manner and a talent for improvisation that kept him and his team a step ahead of their difficult Bosnian partners.

Other diplomats, both American and European, had tried before to launch a peace process and failed. Holbrooke may have been more en-

duity. He was also luckier, aided by a NATO bombing campaign and a timely offensive by the Croatian army. Unavoidably, his behind-the-scenes story of the negotiations is a self-promoting account. To End A War is also one of the most important and readable diplomatic memoirs of recent times. Holbrooke writes vividly of his dramatic encounters with the Balkan leaders and of the unlikely settings where peace progress was made, from a dinner at the late Pamela Harriman's residence in Paris to a gun station pay phone on the Long Island Expressway.

The crafting of the Dayton peace agreement required five interim accords, negotiated separately during weeks of intensive shuttle diplomacy from Belgrade to New York. The process was "dangerous and unpredictable," Holbrooke writes, "something like a combination of chess and mountain climbing." His account should restore some

The book's greatest merit is its contribution to diplomatic history. Holbrooke argues that Europe and the United States were "equally misguided" in their initial approach to the Yugoslav disintegration crisis—the Europeans for thinking they could handle it on their own; Washington for thinking it had "no dog in this fight," as Secretary of State James Baker said in 1992.

Holbrooke's portrayal of Europeans as prone to bickering and obsessed with status is just short of contemptuous. Britain, France, and Germany wanted Italy excluded from the Contact Group, he says, mainly because "they liked the prominence that came from being senior members of a prestigious international negotiating group. (Never mind its effectiveness)." But Holbrooke is just as harsh in his treatment of those in the U.S. government who failed to support an assertive policy in Bosnia.

Holbrooke, however, largely fails to address one issue over which he has been criticized — his relationship with Serbian leader Milosevic. Holbrooke's first big achievement in Yugoslavia was to get Milosevic to represent the Bosnian Serbs in all peace talks. The Holbrooke-Milosevic connection was at the core of the peace negotiation process. Holbrooke reports that Milosevic is "smart" and "charming." He refuses

Serb leaders Radovan Karadzic and Radko Mladic. He apparently has no such qualms about his meetings with Milosevic, though it was the latter's blinding that Karadzic and Mladic did much of their dirty work.

This is not just a question of style. Many U.S. officials believe there is little chance of peace in the Balkans as long as Milosevic remains in power, and that Karadzic and Mladic. Hinhrooke acted wisely in depending on the Serbian leader so much. Hinhrooke needs to confront this criticism, and he has not.

The other half of the relationship, crucially, involves Hinhrooke himself. This book will undoubtedly be read as evidence of his tendency for seeking publicity. This is not to suggest that credit is undeserved. Hinhrooke argued early for U.S. involvement in Bosnia, and his conviction ignited the war. He was wrong in his opportunity to argue that he was right all along, and he does so persuasively.

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The secret heart of Japanese darkness

Bernard Eisenschitz explores the intense, unsentimental themes of Kenji Mizoguchi's films

THE films of Kenji Mizoguchi, the Japanese director who is being given a comprehensive retrospective at the Paris Cinéma until July 30, take one into a strangely compelling world that does not easily yield up its secrets.

The smooth camera movements that do not always follow the characters, the splendid handling of surfaces and fabrics, the relationship between dialogue and the characters' movements, the subtle passage of time and the intensity of thought faces that reveal their secrets in close-up are all elements of a *cinéma* that defies description. Mizoguchi's films, rooted in the West towards the end of his life, in the films, a his-recovering Japan began to send his movies to the Venice and Cannes festivals, where they immediately caught on.

However, although for Western audiences they had a degree of recognition in cinema, Mizoguchi's The Life of Oharu (1950), Ugetsu Monogatari (1953), The Crucified Lovers (1954) and Sunsho (1955) were in no way comparable with a film like Akira Kurosawa's Rashomon, let alone Yasujiro Kurosawa's Gate of Hell.

French film critics at the time rejected the notion of cultural singularity and saw Mizoguchi's films as being the very definition of *mise-en-scène*. "It is that language, not that Japanese, which one needs to learn in order to understand Mizoguchi," Jacques Rivette wrote.

That language did indeed prompt wild enthusiasm for other Mizoguchi films when they were shown in the Cinéma de la Ville de Paris: the four-hour, two-part The Loyal 47 Ronin (1949), Osaka Eiga (1950), which was more radical than any Popular Front film, and Utamaro And His Five Women (1949), a poetic self-portrait of the director.

These earlier works, as well as others directed before the watershed of the war, painted the same grim picture as his final masterpiece, Street Of Shame (1956), and corrected the image of serenity and resignation that had been rather hastily foisted on Mizoguchi.

Soon his image was shown to have an extra dimension. The theatre director Ariane Mnouchkine and the film historian Georges Sadoul talked to people in Kyoto and Tokyo who had worked with Mizoguchi. They described him as a very difficult man and a total perfectionist who would insist on his scriptwriters rewriting screenplay 10 times in a row without him saying what was wrong with them.

Another side of his character, which had the effect of enriching his films, was revealed by Kaneto Shindo, who spent 15 years working for Mizoguchi as an assistant and scriptwriter before going on to direct such movies as The Idiot. He said of Mizoguchi: "Money was the only thing that interested him — money so he could have women."

So much for the idealistic view of Mizoguchi. Meanwhile his movies, which he gradually became accessible, confirmed the continuity of his imagination between the thrills and the films.



Scene from *The Crucified Lovers*, in which the couple form a death pact

Although 50 of the 53 silent films he made between 1924 and 1935 have been lost, the 27 sound movies included in the Cinéma retrospective (out of the 33 he made in total) give a very comprehensive picture of his output during the last 20 years of his life.

Mizoguchi may have been lionized in the West, but he was less appreciated in his own country, where he was seen as a political opportunist and an ordinary director of "quality" films. The fact that he always worked for big producers and seemed, late in his career, to pander to their wishes by turning out prod-

Prostitution is the mainspring of almost all Mizoguchi's films. 'Money was the only thing that interested him — money so he could have women'



ucts designed to do well in the West. He was, however, an indifference shown by his competitors towards, for example, a film like *Ugetsu Monogatari*, which was quickly eclipsed by international critics as one of the 10 best movies of all time.

It was precisely because he worked within codified formulas — adaptations of great literary classics, prostitute movies, prestige films — that he was able to get audiences to accept the violence of his films, their violence and their moral intransigence (in that, he was comparable to John Ford, who was regarded as an old-fashioned director of Westerns that took a quite phallic view of American society).

Clan (1954) to fire arrows at the monks' badlachs. Mizoguchi's pre-war movies often represented female figures enmeshed in the very substance of cinematic technique. In *Tokyo March* (1939), which has survived in only fragmentary form, the interplay of gaze creates an imaginary space in the Ernst Lubitsch manner; and the non-chronological narrative of the *Downfall Of Osen* (1934), sustained by the autonomy of the camera and the editing, eventually drives the heroine mad.

As the years went by, Mizoguchi's interest in the subject of happiness generated by the central

episode of *Ugetsu Monogatari* almost makes one forget the theme that runs right through the movie: the horrors of war. Mizoguchi's art resides in the way he articulates his ideal of beauty — "He dreamt of using national treasures as accessories," said his favourite actress, Kinuyo Tanaka — with aesthetic relationships.

He is equally clear in his attitude towards money and desire: he always described the social background that underpins the oppression of women by men, and of the oppressed by the oppressor.

In a typical Mizoguchi movie the battle of money and the battle of the sexes intersect as the fast-moving plot unfolds. There is no hint of sentimentality in the dialogue. Even when the characters talk about love, they are always putting across vital information. At the end of the plot all possible relationships have been exhausted and all the characters are mentally drained. Nothing is left but cries of despair, as in *Sisters Of The Gion* (1936) and *Women Of The Night* (1948).

Beauty itself is shown to be a pawn in the power game. There is nothing exhilarating about the wonderful shots of a geisha getting dressed in *Gion Festival Music* (1955) or of women making up in front of a mirror in *Sisters Of The Gion* or *Street Of Shame*; here, the creation of beauty is a task that serves a specific purpose.

The last shot of Mizoguchi's last film shows a young prostitute gazing at a young man lying in a coffin. "For some and in darkness/And others are in the light/And those in the light can be seen/Those in the darkness cannot be seen," concludes Bertolt Brecht's *Threepenny Opera*. Curiously, Mizoguchi's birth in 1898 and death in 1956 both fell within weeks of those of Brecht, with whom he had so much in common.

Murmured melody

Alain Lompech

ON JUNE 4 Mary Argenti, the Argentine pianist, gave a rare public performance at the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées. There were no musicians or musicologists in the audience; no one missed a concert known as "the Martha" — a once described by Philippe Hersant as "a noble and 'refined' world" — formally said, and played by Charles, the keyboard. She then played a performance of Maurice Ravel's *Concerto in G major* which her playing, freedom of approach and building up of classical music — serene and in these.

Although Argenti showed by her well-known playing the heights of this excellent work and not curb the rhythmic drive of first and third movements, she lost time when playing her second movement by a slower and more relaxed tempo.

In the first movement, when she allowed her inspiration a free rein, she almost always does, but the originality and freedom in her playing were reminiscent of a first concert. He has always given her a free rein in her playing.

It is only when you dominate every bar of a work that you can give the audience the feeling of listening to his creation; it is when you are in total control of a score that you can hit one or two wrong notes without it mattering.

The long, dramatic slow movement came on a compelling reminder that Ravel was a difficult man who revealed his personality paradoxically by taking refuge behind the challenges he set himself.

The time, the longest in the history of Western music, is with its staggering virtuosity and its no real beginning or end. That is how Argenti played it, as a leader and almost imperceptible murmur.

The Orchestra National de France accompanied Argenti with loving attention, apart from one or two slightly muffled passages in the fast movements — the concert was in the woodwind and brass in their limits.

Dutot encouraged Argenti to give an encore. She played a piece by the Argentine composer, Alberto Ginastera, a rhapsody with early Indian modal touches. In an attempt to stanch the torrents of applause Argenti begged the members of the orchestra to leave the platform with her.

The musicians spent a long time after the concert chatting with the theatre. They were happy to have contributed to the successful return of a pianist whom they had known for many years, and who they appreciate as much as we appreciate theirs.

(June 7-8)

Le Monde
Directeur: Jean-Marie Colombani
Vice-Directeur: Guy de la Morinière
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GUARDIAN WEEKLY
June 28
1998

ACULTY OF ECONOMICS AND MANAGEMENT SCIENCE

DEPARTMENT OF MANAGEMENT Senior Lecturer/Associate Professor in Strategic Management/Business Policy/Managerial Economics

Requirements: Candidates should have at least a Doctorate Degree in Management. In addition, all candidates should have a significant track record of quality research and appropriate relevant teaching experience.

Job description: Candidates will be expected to teach Strategic Management and Business Policy at undergraduate level, participate in curriculum programme development for the forthcoming MBA accreditation and research.

Lecturer/Senior Lecturer in Finance and Banking

Requirements: Candidates should have at least a Master's Degree but preferably a earned Doctorate in Finance/Banking and Economics. Candidates for the post of Senior Lecturer should have a Doctorate Degree with a track record of quality research and appropriate relevant teaching experience.

Job description: Candidates will be expected to teach Financial Management of undergraduate level. Participate in curriculum programme development for the forthcoming MBA. In addition, they will be expected to participate in externally funded collaborative research.

Date of assumption of duties: As soon as possible.

Closing date: 10 July 1998.

Contact persons: Mr Andrew Kanima at (+254-81) 206-31510 or Ms Monica Haila at (+254-81) 206-31020.

Edge benefits: The University of Nairobi offers competitive salaries and the following fringe benefits: a pension fund/gratuity scheme, medical aid, annual bonus, housing allowance, generous leave privileges, relocation expenses.

Non-Nationals citizens may be appointed for a 3-year, renewable contract period.

Application procedure: Applications in writing, should be accompanied by certified copies of all qualifications, plus curriculum vitae setting full details of present salary, increment rates, the earliest available date when duty can be assumed, plus three references with their contact addresses. This should be submitted to: The Head, Recruitment and Administration, University of Nairobi, Private Bag 30301, Nairobi, Kenya. Preliminary telephone applications may be made via fax (+254-81) 206-30302/206-30303 or E-mail: akimam@unimail.net.



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Study TEFL, ESL or TESOL
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APPOINTMENTS & COURSES 21



Oxfam has been working in Former Yugoslavia since 1993, and now has offices throughout the region. Programmes include emergency relief and preparedness, capacity building with local NGOs, disability rights work and advocacy.

Programme Manager, Kosovo

Contract: 18 months

Deputy Programme Manager, Kosovo

Contract: 1 year

Based in Pristina - Unaccompanied

Oxfam in Kosovo is involved in work to improve water and sanitation, and in supporting women's and disabled people's organisations in the region. Recently Oxfam has been responding to the emergency needs of displaced people whose lives have been disrupted by conflict. The Programme Manager (PM) will have overall responsibility for development, emergency and advocacy work in Kosovo, reporting to the Programme Representative in Belgrade. Experience of programme management, representation and financial skills are essential. Preferably the candidate should have experience of both development and emergency work, and of health, women's and/or disability projects. Ref: 08/PM/KOS/PM/000.

Oxfam's response to the emergency situation in the region - their planning and implementation, and communications issues which arise from the emergency. Experience in programme management, and of emergency work is essential. Ref: 08/PM/KOS/PM/000.

Key competences for both posts:

- Management experience with a commitment to team development and support, and excellent interpersonal skills
- Active commitment to promoting gender equity and equal opportunities in all aspects of Oxfam's work
- Ability to work in a volatile environment and to balance political sensitivities
- Knowledge of Eastern Europe, and Kosovo in particular, would be desirable as would experience of fundraising and knowledge of international donors.

Programme Manager, Bosnia

Contract: 1 year Based in Gorazde - Accompanied

Salary: £29,787 pa (taxable) plus accommodation or National Salary Package

The Gorazde office is currently one of 3 Oxfam programme offices in Bosnia. Oxfam is now moving from relief towards longer term work. In Gorazde this is mainly supporting the work of local organisations, particularly those working with women and disabled people, and promoting more sustainable livelihoods through income generation.

Key competences:

- Minimum 2 years' experience in development and humanitarian relief programmes
- Management experience with a commitment to staff development, good interpersonal and financial skills
- Experience of working with local organisations and communities
- Experience of developing and managing income generation programmes and of micro finance issues generally
- Commitment to promoting gender equity and equal opportunities
- Knowledge of Eastern Europe and of major international donors would be highly desirable.

Ref: 08/PM/BOS/PM/000

For further details and an application form please send a large SAE to: The International Human Resources Department, Oxfam, 274 Banbury Road, Oxford, OX2 7DZ quoting the appropriate reference. Closing date for all posts: 27 July 1998. Interview date: To be arranged.

Founded in 1942, Oxfam works with people regardless of race or religion in their struggle against poverty. Oxfam GB is a member of Oxfam International. For further information <http://www.oxfam.org.uk/>

OXFAM
Working for a Fairer World

Oxfam GB is striving to be an equal opportunities employer

PROGRAMME DIRECTOR - CARIBBEAN

Based in Kingston, Jamaica

£25,123 p.a.

In the Caribbean, Save the Children's work focuses on education work, environment and children's participation in environmental projects, including tree planting schemes in Haiti, protecting the marine environment in Cuba and youth groups in Jamaica's marginalised urban areas running clean-up campaigns. Other work includes HIV/AIDS prevention with Cuban youth and disability work, including training workshops in Haiti on community based rehabilitation and integrating disabled children into mainstream education. Advocacy training with young people is now taking place across the region.

As Director, you will manage and develop the programme through a highly effective team of locally appointed programme and administrative staff. You will have substantial international and senior management experience of overseas development programmes such as those described above; demonstrating skills in staff management and development, strategic planning, financial management, and monitoring and evaluation. Strong analytical and senior representation/negotiating skills are also vital. French or Spanish is essential.

The post has accompanied status, and is offered on a 25 month contract, with a salary of £25,123 which would be tax free. You can also expect a generous benefits package including accommodation, flights and other living expenses.

This is a re-advertisement - previous applicants need not apply. For further details and application form, please write to Eamon Dobson, Overseas Personnel, SCF, 17 Grove Lane, London SE5 8RD or fax 0171 738 7810. Closing date: 31 July 1998.

SCF aims to be an equal opportunities employer.

Save the Children

Working for a better world for children

Save the Children

ASSOCIATION OF COMMONWEALTH UNIVERSITIES

University	Post	Ref. No.
AFRICA AND THE CARIBBEAN		
Africa University (Zimbabwe)	AP/SL/L Geography	W46875
Africa University (Zimbabwe)	SL/A Accounting & Finance	W46876
Africa University (Zimbabwe)	AP/SL/L History	W46877
Africa University (Zimbabwe)	AP/SL/L Church History	W46880
Botswana	SL/A Statistics	W46881
Botswana	L Management	W46882
Cameroon (South Africa)	Chair in Science, Mathematics & Technology Education	W46874
Malawi	UNESCO Chair in Renewable Energy	W46883
NUST Zimbabwe	P. Chair in Applied Biology & Biochemistry	W46884
NUST Zimbabwe	AP/SL/L Applied Mathematics	W46885
NUST Zimbabwe	SL/A Applied Chemistry	W46886
UWI (Barbados)	P. Chair in Language, Linguistics & Literature	W46887
UWI (Barbados)	SL/A African Literature in French & French Language	W46888
UWI (Barbados)	SL/A Literary Theory	W46889
UWI (Barbados)	SL/A Latin American & Caribbean Studies	W46890
UWI (Barbados)	LAL Linguistics (Sociolinguistics)	W46891
UWI (Barbados)	Temporary LAL Linguistics (Descriptive/Applied)	W46892
UWI (Barbados)	Compus Bursar	W46893
UWI (Barbados)	SL/A Social Work	W46894
UWI (Barbados)	LAL Teaching of Philosophy	W46895

AUSTRALIA	Chair in Psychology/Director, Morgan Centre	W46896
Malaysia	Chair Economics	W46897
Newcastle (NSW)	PAP Information Systems	W46898
OUT (Dunsmuir)	OUT (Dunsmuir)	W46899
OUT (Dunsmuir)	OUT (Dunsmuir)	W46899
Tasmania	AP Road Safety	W46899
	L Law	W46899

HONG KONG	ASP Law	W46871
Hong Kong	ASP Ontology (non-clinical)	W46872
UNITED KINGDOM		
Osford	P Psychology	W46700

Abbreviations: P - Professor; AP - Associate Professor; ASP - Assistant Professor; SL - Senior Lecturer; L - Lecturer; AL - Assistant Lecturer.

For further details of any of the above staff vacancies please contact ACU (Advertising), 30 Gordon Square, London WC1H 0DP. Tel: 011 44 171 387 8572 ext. 296. FAX 011 44 171 387 8586; e-mail: appts@acu.ac.uk; website: <http://www.acu.ac.uk>; or by post to: ACU, 30 Gordon Square, London WC1H 0DP. A complete copy of the ACU Handbook of Commonwealth Universities, including subscription details, is available from the same source. Promoting educational co-operation throughout the Commonwealth.

Education and Training Opportunities in Africa

The British Council wishes to update its database of education and training professionals, and is now seeking individuals who have two had substantial experience working within the SADC countries of Africa, particularly on EC projects, and who are looking for long-term assignments in the region. Areas of expertise include:

- Education policy management
- Primary school management development
- Primary curriculum development
- Maths and science education at primary and secondary levels
- Vocational education and training
- Laboratory equipment procurement, maintenance and training

A higher degree and teaching qualification will normally be required (plus an industrial experience for VET applicants).

We are seeking professional educators who enjoy living in the region and are committed to its development, who are able to facilitate change in a democratic and consultative manner, and who want to be part of a multi-disciplinary team working in a multi-cultural context. They should be willing to travel extensively, be flexible on a personal and professional level and be excellent communicators.

Please send expressions of interest, availability and curriculum vitae (maximum 2 pages) no later than Friday 17 July to: African Education, The British Council, 20 Whitehall Street, Manchester M1 6BB. Fax: 0161 557 7488. Email: manure@britain.org. All applications will be acknowledged.

The British Council is committed to a policy of equal opportunities.

The British Council

The British Council is committed to a policy of equal opportunities.

FACULTY OF BUSINESS MANAGEMENT AND CONSUMER STUDIES DEPARTMENT OF LEISURE AND HOSPITALITY STUDIES

The Department offers a wide range of undergraduate programmes in the leisure, tourism and hospitality industries. We now require enthusiastic professionals with a proven research background who can contribute to future new initiatives.

LECTURER IN LEISURE AND TOURISM UP TO £28,545 REF LH/1

Informal discussions with Mr M Wilson, Head of Department, on 0161 955 9025.

Further particulars with Mr M Wilson, Head of Department, Personnel Division, tel: +44 (0)161 295 2122, 24 hour answering service, quoting reference ref.

Closing date 6 July 1998.

Concern Universal

(reg. Charity 272405) has two fielding vacancies in its West Africa Programme.

Field Director - Sierra Leone

Financial Manager - Sierra Leone

To be involved in all aspects and issues arising from CUP work in Sierra Leone, including the support of local partners. Experience with projects related to the sectors of emergency relief, agriculture, and security, health and child protection is desirable.

These important positions require previous experience for at least 3 to 5 years in related development work and relevant qualifications. Salaries offered are: Field Director £17,000-20,000 p.a. plus benefits and Pension; Financial Manager £15,000-18,000 p.a. plus benefits depending on experience. A job description will be sent to suitable applicants on request. E-mail: concern@concern.org. Tel: +44 (0)161 831 4936. Fax: +44 (0)161 831 4936. Website: www.concern.org.

Tel: 00 44 161 831 4936

Fax: 00 44 161 831 4936

Email: weekdays@guardian.co.uk

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email: weekdays@guardian.co.uk

Civilisation's high price saving 'lost' tribes

Advertisement is a candid acceptance of the fact that the Guardian will not guarantee the return of any particular tribe to its original habitat, or at all, although every effort will be made to make the tribes as comfortable as possible in the new environment. The tribes are not accepted for loss or gain caused by an error of judgement in the printing of non-appearance of any advertisement. The tribes are not accepted for loss or gain caused by an error of judgement in the printing of non-appearance of any advertisement.

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Will Eappen tragedy be repeated?

Jon Layne in Boston and John Arrigo

THE AU PAIR agency that recruited Louise Woodward has blocked legislation designed to prevent a repeat of the death of baby Matthew Eappen. This means there is nothing to prevent an au pair in the United States being put in the same position as Woodward — given young children to look after with only minimal training.

EF Au Pair, a leading agency in the US, has lobbied successfully against a law designed to introduce a basic standard of training for au pairs in Massachusetts. The bill will run out of time in the state legislature in a few weeks' time. Meanwhile the agency has stepped tougher federal regulations being introduced across the US.

The bill's sponsor, Massachusetts state congressman Marie Parente, says EF Au Pair's "unprecedented" lobbying campaign. Accounts available from the charity authorities in Massachusetts show that EF Au Pair's parent company, the EO Educational Foundation for Foreign Study, spent \$98,704 on lobbying last year. By all accounts, the spending has continued this year.

The money appears to have been well directed. The lobbying has successfully prevented the introduction of compulsory training for au pairs in first aid and emergency resuscitation. It has also managed to block the introduction of better screening of au pairs, including psychological profiles, annual visits to limit the numbers of young children that au pairs can supervise has been successfully resisted by the au pair lobby led by EF.

In Britain, vetting procedures used by EF have been condemned as unacceptably lax. Although agency officials insist they have strict entry requirements, girls as young as 18 simply need two references to be accepted. One can be provided by a member of the family and the other by a close friend or neighbour. A few hours of babysitting for a family friend is considered "reasonable" childcare experience.

Lucia Babington's Unnatural Selection: The Yonomani, The Kayapo and the Ona of the Amazon, published by Pluto at £12.95. E-mail: john.rye@btinternet.com

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transferred to the better qualified Department of Labor.

Meanwhile EF's accounts show that it made large amounts of money from the au pair business, while benefiting from its status as a "non-profit" organisation — the US equivalent of a registered charity. That status means it is exempt from tax. Massachusetts law also restricts its liability in civil suits to only \$20,000 — one reason the Eappen case has so far launched a lawsuit against the firm.

According to the accounts of EF's parent company, the EF Educational Foundation for Foreign Study, and its sister organisation, the EF International Foundation, several senior executives paid themselves handsome salaries. EF's finances are already being examined in another court case.

Currently au pairs who arrive to work in the US under the auspices of EF Au Pair undergo an intensive training course for just a few days in New York before starting work.

Clayton Mele, a former regional co-ordinator for another au pair organisation, EuroAuPair, believes the training is totally inadequate. Mele, a licensed childcare provider, was so concerned about the lack of training for the au pairs she supervised, she arranged for them to have courses in first aid and resuscitation.

The situation is causing deep concern for the Massachusetts Society for Children. Its chief executive, Joyce Brown, says: "Every parent having their child cared for is shaking in their boots."

The society is about to introduce a voluntary scheme to provide advice to parents and their nannies or au pairs. Other parents have been driven to more drastic action. Sales of video surveillance equipment to monitor nannies and au pairs are booming.

Marie Parente has called on European governments to prevent abuse of the au pair system. "Parents over there need to rise up and say they will not allow their children to become indentured servants in the US," she says.

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Notes & Queries Joseph Harker

FORTUNATELY, there is no direct link between the level of technology and unemployment. Since the Industrial Revolution, the unemployment rate in Britain has varied from practically zero to more than 15 per cent, but has shown no signs of permanent rise. This is despite enormous changes to technology and the nature of production. However, global inequality has been around for a long time already. — *Gavin Cameron, Oxford*

THE forgetting of the past, the statistical mythology of the present, and the eternal promiae of the golden future. Oh, and lashings of empty, directionless cynicism. — *Ian Bartlett, Bangalow, NSW, Australia*

THE totals given for those killed by Stalin, etc include those from starvation as a

Harker

JOHN Wilson is absolutely wrong to allege that British rule in India was deliberately responsible for the Bengal Famine of 1942 (June 14). The main cause was the loss of imported Burmese rice following the Japanese invasion of

Any answers

"SHE'LL be coming round the mountain when she

WHAT is it about an ant's anatomy which enables it to so efficiently sniff out sugary food from a distance? Is it possible to block this receptivity? — *Robert Flint, Yanbu, Saudi Arabia*

Answers should be e-mailed to weekly@guardian.co.uk, faxed to 0171-44171-242-0985, or posted to The Guardian Weekly, 75 Farringdon Road, London EC1M 3HQ.

THE CHINESE drink no milk, so how do they avoid osteoporosis?

IT IS a common misconception that dairy products are necessary for protection against brittle bones in later years. Many green leaf vegetables and nuts (especially almonds) are excellent sources of

body than their animal-based counterparts found in milk. Finally, scientists have found that excess protein in one's diet — especially from animals — impedes calcium absorption and thus compels the human organism to drain the calcium reserved in, yes, the bones. **What, exactly, is the deal with**

Little wonder that osteoporosis is most rampant in countries which consume large quantities of red meat, namely the United States and Northern Europe. — *Mariano Thomas, New York, USA*

Petticoat power

So far no scientist has been able to explain how Dogon elders have known about the star Sirius for a thousand years, whereas Western astronomers only "discovered" it 50 years ago. It is the penetrating Dogon view of the world which Drabo uses to develop his story of

Adama told me how moving it felt
to witness the story of his family
changing Bamako street culture.
But it is not just in the street that
Taafé Fanga has influence. I was sitting
in front of the family house, which
is empty of rice with peanut sauce.
Maman asked if I would like to
dinner after eating, and be booked to
my younger sister to fetch water.
The African Princess is my "dancer"
in Malian language, now that I have

1. *Children, women and a culture of violence*

is in serious need of a re-design — some things period are best forgotten. But Sylvie Guillem and Jonathan Cope glittered with mischief in the big *pas de deux*. Bussell melted through her so and Muriel Valtat produced the speediest, most allvery footwork I've seen from her. The show was Modam proud.

h c o k d

The beat goes on and on

was, Kerouac said, "the greatest story" he'd ever read by an American writer, a "novelistic" "outmatched" Céline, Wolfe, Dosztoevsky, Joyce. Kerouac claimed it marked "the beginning of an American consciousness" and it has been said that without Cassady's letter, modern classics like *In Cold Blood* and *The Electric Kool-Aid Acid Test* would never have been written.

This is the letter on which *The Last Time I Committed Suicide* is based. The film is steeped in his nostalgia. Thomas Jane, in his first starring role, plays Neal with the suaveness of a true beat disciple. Keanu Reeves is here, in an indelible film, supporting him (as Neal)

Cassidy was born on the windy Los Angeles. His parents soon split up, and Cassidy spent his childhood with his father, moving from place to place. He had stolen 500 cars before he was 21. His sex life started when he was nine; he spent 15 months in reform school and longer in jail, where he read Kant and Nietzsche and Schopenhauer. When he wrote about his life he claimed to be reporting "just the incidents exactly as they occurred". "Melville," Kerouac said.

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Divine diva strikes all the right notes

...the characters are essential
sacred, icons of emotion
extremism in a world where ev
thing is dominated by a quest
supremacy. To some of the r
beautiful music ever written,
ing about "the power of the

chistic Regina from Queen K
Rodellinda's costumes sug
Gloria Swanson in diva mode. E
arido, in his moment of hero
done Fairbanks's Zorro mask.
Elsewhere, however, we

greatest of contemporary countertenors. The sound can only be described as heart-stopping, and his phrasing is exquisite. His duet with Antonucci at the end of the second act ranks as one of the most ravishing things I've ever heard.

It's based on a letter and not a book, but the film's real problem is its undeniable love of the world it shows. It's more of a hymn than a movie.

Richard Williams is in France
scoring the World Cup

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A Country Diary

rounds in these parts — the circumnavigation of Weasdale by way of Hooksey, Randygill Top and Green Bell. Apart from one steepish bit, it is six miles or so of easy going — an ideal round for octogenarians with foot prob-

ons. But this could not be seen from the superb view of the Lakeland fells, several of the highest Yorkshire hills and the prominent limestone "clouds" on Wild Boar Fell. If you seek solitude in the hills this is a

the characters are essentially *nostres sacrés*, icons of emotional extremism in a world where everything is dominated by a quest for supremacy. To some of the most beautiful music ever written, we are

Elsewhere, however, we

greatest of contemporary counter-tenors. The sound can only be described as heart-stopping, and his phrasing is exquisite. His duet with Antonacci at the end of the second act ranks as one of the most rav-

It's based on a letter and not a book, but the film's real problem is its undeniable love of the world it shows. It's more of a hymn than a movie.

The Last Time I Committed Suicide is better as a concept than as

liner. If halfway through you can't take any more, it's not because it's immoral or chauvinist, because it's boring.

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Old masters of the sky

Mark Conker

TO THE north of the city of Caceres we stopped to enjoy the landscape of this arid and spectacular region of Spain. A rolling tableland fell away in a succession of distant folds, and across the flank of the nearest slope the sheep were grazing quietly without distraction. All would have looked a perfect spring scene except the warm breeze carried towards us an unmistakable odour of decay.

One of the flock had died, but despite the bareness of the hillside we never saw the carcass since it was surrounded by a circular mass of vultures. And each minute that we watched, fresh birds sailed along from the heavens, the wind appling from their two-metre wings a terrible rush of air. On the ground there was such a seething crowd of bodies that an accurate count was impossible. However, we estimated about 120 birds.

The majority of them were griffon vultures, birds of such aerial mastery that they can cover up to 450 kilometres a day in search of a scene like this one. In surging down on a kill they can reach speeds of 140km/h. Yet as the vultures cruised in to land, their wings were almost completely closed at the moment of touchdown and just a few pinning spears brought the manoeuvre to a total halt.

It was a consummate performance that couldn't have been more contrasting with the untidy malar that encased the periphery of the circle stood scores of "candidates", hungry birds whose aggression may well be triggered by the release of digestive juices.

Once the urge to feed overcame the "candidates", they scrambled and jostled to the centre, where occasionally birds would leap on their rival's back and attack with feet raised and neck extended. But these are largely ritual exchanges that cause little harm to participants, and they ensure a constant race at the carcass



ILLUSTRATION: ANN HODGKIN

that allows many to take their turn. The griffon vultures were splendid creatures, but their close relatives, the black vulture, was more impressive still. It is the biggest bird of prey in Europe. A large female can weigh more than 12kg and has a wingspan of almost three metres.

On the ground they look extra-male, with a collar of shaggy feathers around the head and a long bare neck. In a collar of shaggy feathers they stand out like a dark shadow against the pale and bare ground. At a distance this looks like two dark hollows scooped out of a naked skull. The whole effect is a kind of ghoul-like majesty.

On an African safari, congregations of vultures are almost daily events, but in Europe they are much more special. Since the Middle Ages griffon and especially black vultures have steadily been edged out of many countries — from Ger-

many, Poland, Romania and much of southern France. Spain is now the last great stronghold, where the population of griffons almost doubled to 8,000 pairs by 1990, while Extremadura holds some of the largest concentrations of black vultures found anywhere in the world.

In Europe as a whole their presence defines the continent's last wild places — usually landscapes of grassy hillsides and scrubby mountains where the grazing animals (and even the people themselves) seem to live more freely and in a more unadorned way. Vultures mark the parameters of my travel interest in Europe. Their absence, and all it implies, keeps me away from most northern countries and even from the Italian peninsula, with its cultural feast of museums and churches. But I'm seldom deterred. And who would deny that a soaring vulture is one of God's great works of art?

Chess Leonard Barden

AFTER just four seasons Britain's Four Nations Chess League (4NCL) is fast maturing into a serious challenger to its long-established rivals in Germany, France and the Netherlands. Virtually all the UK's leading grandmasters take the part.

The 1997-98 champions, for the second year running, were Midlands Monarchs, who mix experienced local GMA with some of the brightest young university talent; thus the league provides serious impetus for Britain's chess future.

GMA's reliable chance to meet high-quality opposition at leisurely time rates. An innovative rule requiring at least one woman player per team has also been successful. There have been some glitches.

No Scottish team has yet taken part because of the problems of travel to Birmingham six times a season. Hopes that a sponsor would provide prize money and backing for top teams who qualify for the European Cup have also come to nothing.

In the past season 4NCL and the European Cup 1 are both held in a spare and knowing that the 4NCL team began without chess set or boards, a non-playing Austria captain was sent off in the European Cup. A polemic opponent in the black, and a 2600 GM walked out after a dispute with his manager. Everybody gets heated, but these incidents will make wonderful conversation pieces at chess parties in 10 years' time.

GM Mark Hebden (Midlands) v IM Colin Crouch (Berkshire)

1 d4 e5 2 c3 c5 3 Nf3 Nf6 4 Bg5 Bc6 5 Qd2 Qc7 6 Qd3 Qc6 7 Qd4 Qc7 8 Nc3 Bb5 9 Nc7 Nc6 10 Ne5 Bb6 11 Nxd7 Nxd7 12 Bxd2 Kd8 13 0-0 Nf6 14 Bg5 Bb5 15 Bf4 Bb5 16 Nc7 Bb5 17 Bb4 Bb5 18 Bb5 Bb5 19 Bb5 Bb5 20 Bb5 Bb5 21 Bb5 Bb5 22 Bb5 Bb5 23 Bb5 Bb5 24 Bb5 Bb5 25 Bb5 Bb5 26 Bb5 Bb5 27 Bb5 Bb5 28 Bb5 Bb5 29 Bb5 Bb5 30 Bb5 Bb5 31 Bb5 Bb5 32 Bb5 Bb5 33 Bb5 Bb5 34 Bb5 Bb5 35 Bb5 Bb5 36 Bb5 Bb5 37 Bb5 Bb5 38 Bb5 Bb5 39 Bb5 Bb5 40 Bb5 Bb5 41 Bb5 Bb5 42 Bb5 Bb5 43 Bb5 Bb5 44 Bb5 Bb5 45 Bb5 Bb5 46 Bb5 Bb5 47 Bb5 Bb5 48 Bb5 Bb5 49 Bb5 Bb5 50 Bb5 Bb5 51 Bb5 Bb5 52 Bb5 Bb5 53 Bb5 Bb5 54 Bb5 Bb5 55 Bb5 Bb5 56 Bb5 Bb5 57 Bb5 Bb5 58 Bb5 Bb5 59 Bb5 Bb5 60 Bb5 Bb5 61 Bb5 Bb5 62 Bb5 Bb5 63 Bb5 Bb5 64 Bb5 Bb5 65 Bb5 Bb5 66 Bb5 Bb5 67 Bb5 Bb5 68 Bb5 Bb5 69 Bb5 Bb5 70 Bb5 Bb5 71 Bb5 Bb5 72 Bb5 Bb5 73 Bb5 Bb5 74 Bb5 Bb5 75 Bb5 Bb5 76 Bb5 Bb5 77 Bb5 Bb5 78 Bb5 Bb5 79 Bb5 Bb5 80 Bb5 Bb5 81 Bb5 Bb5 82 Bb5 Bb5 83 Bb5 Bb5 84 Bb5 Bb5 85 Bb5 Bb5 86 Bb5 Bb5 87 Bb5 Bb5 88 Bb5 Bb5 89 Bb5 Bb5 90 Bb5 Bb5 91 Bb5 Bb5 92 Bb5 Bb5 93 Bb5 Bb5 94 Bb5 Bb5 95 Bb5 Bb5 96 Bb5 Bb5 97 Bb5 Bb5 98 Bb5 Bb5 99 Bb5 Bb5 100 Bb5 Bb5

GM Mikhail Gurevich (Slough) v Charles Kennas (Glasgow)

1 e4 e5 2 Nc3 Bc4 3 Nf3 Nf6 4 Bg5 Bc6 5 Qd2 Qc7 6 Qd3 Qc6 7 Qd4 Qc7 8 Nc3 Bb5 9 Nc7 Nc6 10 Ne5 Bb6 11 Nxd7 Nxd7 12 Bxd2 Kd8 13 0-0 Nf6 14 Bg5 Bb5 15 Bf4 Bb5 16 Nc7 Bb5 17 Bb4 Bb5 18 Bb5 Bb5 19 Bb5 Bb5 20 Bb5 Bb5 21 Bb5 Bb5 22 Bb5 Bb5 23 Bb5 Bb5 24 Bb5 Bb5 25 Bb5 Bb5 26 Bb5 Bb5 27 Bb5 Bb5 28 Bb5 Bb5 29 Bb5 Bb5 30 Bb5 Bb5 31 Bb5 Bb5 32 Bb5 Bb5 33 Bb5 Bb5 34 Bb5 Bb5 35 Bb5 Bb5 36 Bb5 Bb5 37 Bb5 Bb5 38 Bb5 Bb5 39 Bb5 Bb5 40 Bb5 Bb5 41 Bb5 Bb5 42 Bb5 Bb5 43 Bb5 Bb5 44 Bb5 Bb5 45 Bb5 Bb5 46 Bb5 Bb5 47 Bb5 Bb5 48 Bb5 Bb5 49 Bb5 Bb5 50 Bb5 Bb5 51 Bb5 Bb5 52 Bb5 Bb5 53 Bb5 Bb5 54 Bb5 Bb5 55 Bb5 Bb5 56 Bb5 Bb5 57 Bb5 Bb5 58 Bb5 Bb5 59 Bb5 Bb5 60 Bb5 Bb5 61 Bb5 Bb5 62 Bb5 Bb5 63 Bb5 Bb5 64 Bb5 Bb5 65 Bb5 Bb5 66 Bb5 Bb5 67 Bb5 Bb5 68 Bb5 Bb5 69 Bb5 Bb5 70 Bb5 Bb5 71 Bb5 Bb5 72 Bb5 Bb5 73 Bb5 Bb5 74 Bb5 Bb5 75 Bb5 Bb5 76 Bb5 Bb5 77 Bb5 Bb5 78 Bb5 Bb5 79 Bb5 Bb5 80 Bb5 Bb5 81 Bb5 Bb5 82 Bb5 Bb5 83 Bb5 Bb5 84 Bb5 Bb5 85 Bb5 Bb5 86 Bb5 Bb5 87 Bb5 Bb5 88 Bb5 Bb5 89 Bb5 Bb5 90 Bb5 Bb5 91 Bb5 Bb5 92 Bb5 Bb5 93 Bb5 Bb5 94 Bb5 Bb5 95 Bb5 Bb5 96 Bb5 Bb5 97 Bb5 Bb5 98 Bb5 Bb5 99 Bb5 Bb5 100 Bb5 Bb5

20 2528: 1 Nf6! e2 (f2) b2 2 Qd3

2 Rg7+ and Black's king can never escape from checks on the g-file.

left at the finish. Instead, he cashed the final shift, forcing the opponents to discard. This was the end position before the last trump was played.

North

• None

• KQ8

• 104

West

• None

• None

• J72

• Q6

South

• 2

• None

• A197

Pity poor East and West. Both convinced that Slavenburg must have another diamond, clung grimly to their three remaining cards in that suit. This meant, of course, each of them discarded a club, coming down to a single honour in that suit. So Slavenburg lost. That's right — he did not cash the king and queen diamonds in dummy, because he could discard only two of his club losers, and would have one

N56 Ne7 12 Be3 Qb4+ 13 Qe4 14 Nd6+ Kb5 15 Rxa5 Qb4 16 Nd6+ Kb5 17 Rxa5 Qb4 18 Nd6+ Kb5 19 Rxa5 Qb4 20 Nd6+ Kb5 21 Rxa5 Qb4 22 Nd6+ Kb5 23 Rxa5 Qb4 24 Nd6+ Kb5 25 Rxa5 Qb4 26 Nd6+ Kb5 27 Rxa5 Qb4 28 Nd6+ Kb5 29 Rxa5 Qb4 30 Nd6+ Kb5 31 Rxa5 Qb4 32 Nd6+ Kb5 33 Rxa5 Qb4 34 Nd6+ Kb5 35 Rxa5 Qb4 36 Nd6+ Kb5 37 Rxa5 Qb4 38 Nd6+ Kb5 39 Rxa5 Qb4 40 Nd6+ Kb5 41 Rxa5 Qb4 42 Nd6+ Kb5 43 Rxa5 Qb4 44 Nd6+ Kb5 45 Rxa5 Qb4 46 Nd6+ Kb5 47 Rxa5 Qb4 48 Nd6+ Kb5 49 Rxa5 Qb4 50 Nd6+ Kb5 51 Rxa5 Qb4 52 Nd6+ Kb5 53 Rxa5 Qb4 54 Nd6+ Kb5 55 Rxa5 Qb4 56 Nd6+ Kb5 57 Rxa5 Qb4 58 Nd6+ Kb5 59 Rxa5 Qb4 60 Nd6+ Kb5 61 Rxa5 Qb4 62 Nd6+ Kb5 63 Rxa5 Qb4 64 Nd6+ Kb5 65 Rxa5 Qb4 66 Nd6+ Kb5 67 Rxa5 Qb4 68 Nd6+ Kb5 69 Rxa5 Qb4 70 Nd6+ Kb5 71 Rxa5 Qb4 72 Nd6+ Kb5 73 Rxa5 Qb4 74 Nd6+ Kb5 75 Rxa5 Qb4 76 Nd6+ Kb5 77 Rxa5 Qb4 78 Nd6+ Kb5 79 Rxa5 Qb4 80 Nd6+ Kb5 81 Rxa5 Qb4 82 Nd6+ Kb5 83 Rxa5 Qb4 84 Nd6+ Kb5 85 Rxa5 Qb4 86 Nd6+ Kb5 87 Rxa5 Qb4 88 Nd6+ Kb5 89 Rxa5 Qb4 90 Nd6+ Kb5 91 Rxa5 Qb4 92 Nd6+ Kb5 93 Rxa5 Qb4 94 Nd6+ Kb5 95 Rxa5 Qb4 96 Nd6+ Kb5 97 Rxa5 Qb4 98 Nd6+ Kb5 99 Rxa5 Qb4 100 Nd6+ Kb5

N56 Ne7 12 Be3 Qb4+ 13 Qe4 14 Nd6+ Kb5 15 Rxa5 Qb4 16 Nd6+ Kb5 17 Rxa5 Qb4 18 Nd6+ Kb5 19 Rxa5 Qb4 20 Nd6+ Kb5 21 Rxa5 Qb4 22 Nd6+ Kb5 23 Rxa5 Qb4 24 Nd6+ Kb5 25 Rxa5 Qb4 26 Nd6+ Kb5 27 Rxa5 Qb4 28 Nd6+ Kb5 29 Rxa5 Qb4 30 Nd6+ Kb5 31 Rxa5 Qb4 32 Nd6+ Kb5 33 Rxa5 Qb4 34 Nd6+ Kb5 35 Rxa5 Qb4 36 Nd6+ Kb5 37 Rxa5 Qb4 38 Nd6+ Kb5 39 Rxa5 Qb4 40 Nd6+ Kb5 41 Rxa5 Qb4 42 Nd6+ Kb5 43 Rxa5 Qb4 44 Nd6+ Kb5 45 Rxa5 Qb4 46 Nd6+ Kb5 47 Rxa5 Qb4 48 Nd6+ Kb5 49 Rxa5 Qb4 50 Nd6+ Kb5 51 Rxa5 Qb4 52 Nd6+ Kb5 53 Rxa5 Qb4 54 Nd6+ Kb5 55 Rxa5 Qb4 56 Nd6+ Kb5 57 Rxa5 Qb4 58 Nd6+ Kb5 59 Rxa5 Qb4 60 Nd6+ Kb5 61 Rxa5 Qb4 62 Nd6+ Kb5 63 Rxa5 Qb4 64 Nd6+ Kb5 65 Rxa5 Qb4 66 Nd6+ Kb5 67 Rxa5 Qb4 68 Nd6+ Kb5 69 Rxa5 Qb4 70 Nd6+ Kb5 71 Rxa5 Qb4 72 Nd6+ Kb5 73 Rxa5 Qb4 74 Nd6+ Kb5 75 Rxa5 Qb4 76 Nd6+ Kb5 77 Rxa5 Qb4 78 Nd6+ Kb5 79 Rxa5 Qb4 80 Nd6+ Kb5 81 Rxa5 Qb4 82 Nd6+ Kb5 83 Rxa5 Qb4 84 Nd6+ Kb5 85 Rxa5 Qb4 86 Nd6+ Kb5 87 Rxa5 Qb4 88 Nd6+ Kb5 89 Rxa5 Qb4 90 Nd6+ Kb5 91 Rxa5 Qb4 92 Nd6+ Kb5 93 Rxa5 Qb4 94 Nd6+ Kb5 95 Rxa5 Qb4 96 Nd6+ Kb5 97 Rxa5 Qb4 98 Nd6+ Kb5 99 Rxa5 Qb4 100 Nd6+ Kb5

N56 Ne7 12 Be3 Qb4+ 13 Qe4 14 Nd6+ Kb5 15 Rxa5 Qb4 16 Nd6+ Kb5 17 Rxa5 Qb4 18 Nd6+ Kb5 19 Rxa5 Qb4 20 Nd6+ Kb5 21 Rxa5 Qb4 22 Nd6+ Kb5 23 Rxa5 Qb4 24 Nd6+ Kb5 25 Rxa5 Qb4 26 Nd6+ Kb5 27 Rxa5 Qb4 28 Nd6+ Kb5 29 Rxa5 Qb4 30 Nd6+ Kb5 31 Rxa5 Qb4 32 Nd6+ Kb5 33 Rxa5 Qb4 34 Nd6+ Kb5 35 Rxa5 Qb4 36 Nd6+ Kb5 37 Rxa5 Qb4 38 Nd6+ Kb5 39 Rxa5 Qb4 40 Nd6+ Kb5 41 Rxa5 Qb4 42 Nd6+ Kb5 43 Rxa5 Qb4 44 Nd6+ Kb5 45 Rxa5 Qb4 46 Nd6+ Kb5 47 Rxa5 Qb4 48 Nd6+ Kb5 49 Rxa5 Qb4 50 Nd6+ Kb5 51 Rxa5 Qb4 52 Nd6+ Kb5 53 Rxa5 Qb4 54 Nd6+ Kb5 55 Rxa5 Qb4 56 Nd6+ Kb5 57 Rxa5 Qb4 58 Nd6+ Kb5 59 Rxa5 Qb4 60 Nd6+ Kb5 61 Rxa5 Qb4 62 Nd6+ Kb5 63 Rxa5 Qb4 64 Nd6+ Kb5 65 Rxa5 Qb4 66 Nd6+ Kb5 67 Rxa5 Qb4 68 Nd6+ Kb5 69 Rxa5 Qb4 70 Nd6+ Kb5 71 Rxa5 Qb4 72 Nd6+ Kb5 73 Rxa5 Qb4 74 Nd6+ Kb5 75 Rxa5 Qb4 76 Nd6+ Kb5 77 Rxa5 Qb4 78 Nd6+ Kb5 79 Rxa5 Qb4 80 Nd6+ Kb5 81 Rxa5 Qb4 82 Nd6+ Kb5 83 Rxa5 Qb4 84 Nd6+ Kb5 85 Rxa5 Qb4 86 Nd6+ Kb5 87 Rxa5 Qb4 88 Nd6+ Kb5 89 Rxa5 Qb4 90 Nd6+ Kb5 91 Rxa5 Qb4 92 Nd6+ Kb5 93 Rxa5 Qb4 94 Nd6+ Kb5 95 Rxa5 Qb4 96 Nd6+ Kb5 97 Rxa5 Qb4 98 Nd6+ Kb5 99 Rxa5 Qb4 100 Nd6+ Kb5

N56 Ne7 12 Be3 Qb4+ 13 Qe4 14 Nd6+ Kb5 15 Rxa5 Qb4 16 Nd6+ Kb5 17 Rxa5 Qb4 18 Nd6+ Kb5 19 Rxa5 Qb4 20 Nd6+ Kb5 21 Rxa5 Qb4 22 Nd6+ Kb5 23 Rxa5 Qb4 24 Nd6+ Kb5 25 Rxa5 Qb4 26 Nd6+ Kb5 27 Rxa5 Qb4 28 Nd6+ Kb5 29 Rxa5 Qb4 30 Nd6+ Kb5 31 Rxa5 Qb4 32 Nd6+ Kb5 33 Rxa5 Qb4 34 Nd6+ Kb5 35 Rxa5 Qb4 36 Nd6+ Kb5 37 Rxa5 Qb4 38 Nd6+ Kb5 39 Rxa5 Qb4 40 Nd6+ Kb5 41 Rxa5 Qb4 42 Nd6+ Kb5 43 Rxa5 Qb4 44 Nd6+ Kb5 45 Rxa5 Qb4 46 Nd6+ Kb5 47 Rxa5 Qb4 48 Nd6+ Kb5 49 Rxa5 Qb4 50 Nd6+ Kb5 51 Rxa5 Qb4 52 Nd6+ Kb5 53 Rxa5 Qb4 54 Nd6+ Kb5 55 Rxa5 Qb4 56 Nd6+ Kb5 57 Rxa5 Qb4 58 Nd6+ Kb5 59 Rxa5 Qb4 60 Nd6+ Kb5 61 Rxa5 Qb4 62 Nd6+ Kb5 63 Rxa5 Qb4 64 Nd6+ Kb5 65 Rxa5 Qb4 66 Nd6+ Kb5 67 Rxa5 Qb4 68 Nd6+ Kb5 69 Rxa5 Qb4 70 Nd6+ Kb5 71 Rxa5 Qb4 72 Nd6+ Kb5 73 Rxa5 Qb4 74 Nd6+ Kb5 75 Rxa5 Qb4 76 Nd6+ Kb5 77 Rxa5 Qb4 78 Nd6+ Kb5 79 Rxa5 Qb4 80 Nd6+ Kb5 81 Rxa5 Qb4 82 Nd6+ Kb5 83 Rxa5 Qb4 84 Nd6+ Kb5 85 Rxa5 Qb4 86 Nd6+ Kb5 87 Rxa5 Qb4 88 Nd6+ Kb5 89 Rxa5 Qb4 90 Nd6+ Kb5 91 Rxa5 Qb4 92 Nd6+ Kb5 93 Rxa5 Qb4 94 Nd6+ Kb5 95 Rxa5 Qb4 96 Nd6+ Kb5 97 Rxa5 Qb4 98 Nd6+ Kb5 99 Rxa5 Qb4 100 Nd6+ Kb5

N56 Ne7 12 Be3 Qb4+ 13 Qe4 14 Nd6+ Kb5 15 Rxa5 Qb4 16 Nd6+ Kb5 17 Rxa5 Qb4 18 Nd6+ Kb5 19 Rxa5 Qb4 20 Nd6+ Kb5 21 Rxa5 Qb4 22 Nd6+ Kb5 23 Rxa5 Qb4 24 Nd6+ Kb5 25 Rxa5 Qb4 26 Nd6+ Kb5 27 Rxa5 Qb4 28 Nd6+ Kb5 29 Rxa5 Qb4 30 Nd6+ Kb5 31 Rxa5 Qb4 32 Nd6+ Kb5 33 Rxa5 Qb4 34 Nd6+ Kb5 35 Rxa5 Qb4 36 Nd6+ Kb5 37 Rxa5 Qb4 38 Nd6+ Kb5 39 Rxa5 Qb4 40 Nd6+ Kb5 41 Rxa5 Qb4 42 Nd6+ Kb5 43 Rxa5 Qb4 44 Nd6+ Kb5 45 Rxa5 Qb4 46 Nd6+ Kb5 47 Rxa5 Qb4 48 Nd6+ Kb5 49 Rxa5 Qb4 50 Nd6+ Kb5 51 Rxa5 Qb4 52 Nd6+ Kb5 53 Rxa5 Qb4 54 Nd6+ Kb5 55 Rxa5 Qb4 56 Nd6+ Kb5 57 Rxa5 Qb4 58 Nd6+ Kb5 59 Rxa5 Qb4 60 Nd6+ Kb5 61 Rxa5 Qb4 62 Nd6+ Kb5 63 Rxa5 Qb4 64 Nd6+ Kb5 65 Rxa5 Qb4 66 Nd6+ Kb5 67 Rxa5 Qb4 68 Nd6+ Kb5 69 Rxa5 Qb4 70 Nd6+ Kb5 71 Rxa5 Qb4 72 Nd6+ Kb5 73 Rxa5 Qb4 74 Nd6+ Kb5 75 Rxa5 Qb4 76 Nd6+ Kb5 77 Rxa5 Qb4 78 Nd6+ Kb5 79 Rxa5 Qb4 80 Nd6+ Kb5 81 Rxa5 Qb4 82 Nd6+ Kb5 83 Rxa5 Qb4 84 Nd6+ Kb5 85 Rxa5 Qb4 86 Nd6+ Kb5 87 Rxa5 Qb4 88 Nd6+ Kb5 89 Rxa5 Qb4 90 Nd6+ Kb5 91 Rxa5 Qb4 92 Nd6+ Kb5 93 Rxa5 Qb4 94 Nd6+ Kb5 95 Rxa5 Qb4 96 Nd6+ Kb5 97 Rxa5 Qb4 98 Nd6+ Kb5 99 Rxa5 Qb4 100 Nd6+ Kb5

N56 Ne7 12 Be3 Qb4+ 13 Qe4 14 Nd6+ Kb5 15 Rxa5 Qb4 16 Nd6+ Kb5 17 Rxa5 Qb4 18 Nd6+ Kb5 19 Rxa5 Qb4 20 Nd6+ Kb5 21 Rxa5 Qb4 22 Nd6+ Kb5 23 Rxa5 Qb4 24 Nd6+ Kb5 25 Rxa5 Qb4 26 Nd6+ Kb5 27 Rxa5 Qb4 28 Nd6+ Kb5 29 Rxa5 Qb4 30 Nd6+ Kb5 31 Rxa5 Qb4 32 Nd6+ Kb5 33 Rxa5 Qb4 34 Nd6+ Kb5 35 Rxa5 Qb4 36 Nd6+ Kb5 37 Rxa5 Qb4 38 Nd6+ Kb5 39 Rxa5 Qb4 40 Nd6+ Kb5 41 Rxa5 Qb4 42 Nd6+ Kb5 43 Rxa5 Qb4 44 Nd6+ Kb5 45 Rxa5 Qb4 46 Nd6+ Kb5 47 Rxa5 Qb4 48 Nd6+ Kb5 49 Rxa5 Qb4 50 Nd6+ Kb5 51 Rxa5 Qb4 52 Nd6+ Kb5 53 Rxa5 Qb4 54 Nd6+ Kb5 55 Rxa5 Qb4 56 Nd6+ Kb5 57 Rxa5 Qb4 58 Nd6+ Kb5 59 Rxa5 Qb4 60 Nd6+ Kb5 61 Rxa5 Qb4 62 Nd6+ Kb5 63 Rxa5 Qb4 64 Nd6+ Kb5 65 Rxa5 Qb4 66 Nd6+ Kb5 67 Rxa5 Qb4 68 Nd6+ Kb5 69 Rxa5 Qb4 70 Nd6+ Kb5 71 Rxa5 Qb4 72 Nd6+ Kb5 73 Rxa5 Qb4 74 Nd6+ Kb5 75 Rxa5 Qb4 76 Nd6+ Kb5 77 Rxa5 Qb4 78 Nd6+ Kb5 79 Rxa5 Qb4 80 Nd6+ Kb5 81 Rxa5 Qb4 82 Nd6+ Kb5 83 Rxa5 Qb4 84 Nd6+ Kb5 85 Rxa5 Qb4 86 Nd6+ Kb5 87 Rxa5 Qb4 88 Nd6+ Kb5 89 Rxa5 Qb4 90 Nd6+ Kb5 91 Rxa5 Qb4 92 Nd6+ Kb5 93 Rxa5 Qb4 94 Nd6+ Kb5 95 Rxa5 Qb4 96 Nd6+ Kb5 97 Rxa5 Qb4 98 Nd6+ Kb5 99 Rxa5 Qb4 100 Nd6+ Kb5

N56 Ne7 12 Be3 Qb4+ 13 Qe4 14 Nd6+ Kb5 15 Rxa5 Qb4 16 Nd6+ Kb5 17 Rxa5 Qb4 18 Nd6+ Kb5 19 Rxa5 Qb4 20 Nd6+ Kb5 21 Rxa5 Qb4 22 Nd6+ Kb5 23 Rxa5 Qb4 24 Nd6+ Kb5 25 Rxa5 Qb4 26 Nd6+ Kb5 27 Rxa5 Qb4 28 Nd6+ Kb5 29 Rxa5 Qb4 30 Nd6+ Kb5 31 Rxa5 Qb4 32 Nd6+ Kb5 33 Rxa5 Qb4 34 Nd6+ Kb5 35 Rxa5 Qb4 36 Nd6+ Kb5 37 Rxa5 Qb4 38 Nd6+ Kb5 39 Rxa5 Qb4 40 Nd6+ Kb5 41 Rxa5 Qb4 42 Nd6+ Kb5 43 Rxa5 Qb4 44 Nd6+ Kb5 45 Rxa5 Qb4 46 Nd6+ Kb5 47 Rxa5 Qb4 48 Nd6+ Kb5 49 Rxa5 Qb4 50 Nd6+ Kb5 51 Rxa5 Qb4 52 Nd6+ Kb5 53 Rxa5 Qb4 54 Nd6+ Kb5 55 Rxa5 Qb4 56 Nd6+ Kb5 57 Rxa5 Qb4 58 Nd6+ Kb5 59 Rxa5 Qb4 60 Nd6+ Kb5 61 Rxa5 Qb4 62 Nd6+ Kb5 63 Rxa5 Qb4 64 Nd6+ Kb5 65 Rxa5 Qb4 66 Nd6+ Kb5 67 Rxa5 Qb4 68 Nd6+ Kb5 69 Rxa5 Qb4 70 Nd6+ Kb5 71 Rxa5 Qb4 72 Nd6+ Kb5 73 Rxa5 Qb4 74 Nd6+ Kb5 75 Rxa5 Qb4 76 Nd6+ Kb5 77 Rxa5 Qb4 78 Nd6+ Kb5 79 Rxa5 Qb4 80 Nd6+ Kb5 81 Rxa5 Qb4 82 Nd6+ Kb5 83 Rxa5 Qb4 84 Nd6+ Kb5 85 Rxa5 Qb4 86 Nd6+ Kb5 87 Rxa5 Qb4 88 Nd6+ Kb5 89 Rxa5 Qb4 90 Nd6+ Kb5 91 Rxa5 Qb4 92 Nd6+ Kb5 93 Rxa5 Qb4 94 Nd6+ Kb5 95 Rxa5 Qb4 96 Nd6+ Kb5 97 Rxa5 Qb4 98 Nd6+ Kb5 99 Rxa5 Qb4 100 Nd6+ Kb5

N56 Ne7 12 Be3 Qb4+ 13 Qe4 14 Nd6+ Kb5 15 Rxa5 Qb4 16 Nd6+ Kb5 17 Rxa5 Qb4 18 Nd6+ Kb5 19 Rxa5 Qb4 20 Nd6+ Kb5 21 Rxa5 Qb4 22 Nd6+ Kb5 23 Rxa5 Qb4 24 Nd6+ Kb5 25 Rxa5 Qb4 26 Nd6+ Kb5 27 Rxa5 Qb4 28 Nd6+ Kb5 29 Rxa5 Qb4 30 Nd6+ Kb5 31 Rxa5 Qb4 32 Nd6+ Kb5 33 Rxa5 Qb4 34 Nd6+ Kb5 35 Rxa5 Qb4 36 Nd6+ Kb5 37 Rxa5 Qb4 38 Nd6+ Kb5 39 Rxa5 Qb4 40 Nd6+ Kb5 41 Rxa5 Qb4 42 Nd6+ Kb5 43 Rxa5 Qb4 44 Nd6+ Kb5 45 Rxa5 Qb4 46 Nd6+ Kb5 47 Rxa5 Qb4 48 Nd6+ Kb5 49 Rxa5 Qb4 50 Nd6+ Kb5 51 Rxa5 Qb4 52 Nd6+ Kb5 53 Rxa5 Qb4 54 Nd6+ Kb5 55 Rxa5 Qb4 56 Nd6+ Kb5 57 Rxa5 Qb4 58 Nd6+ Kb5 59 Rxa5 Qb4 60 Nd6+ Kb5 61 Rxa5 Qb4 62 Nd6+ Kb5 63 Rxa5 Qb4 64 Nd6+ Kb5 65 Rxa5 Qb4 66 Nd6+ Kb5 67 Rxa5 Qb4 68 Nd6+ Kb5 69 Rxa5 Qb4 70 Nd6+ Kb5 71 Rxa5 Qb4 72 Nd6+ Kb5 73 Rxa5 Qb4 74 Nd6+ Kb5 75 Rxa5 Qb4 76 Nd6+ Kb5 77 Rxa5 Qb4 78 Nd6+ Kb5 79 Rxa5 Qb4 80 Nd6+ Kb5 81 Rxa5 Qb4 82 Nd6+ Kb5 83 Rxa5 Qb4 84 Nd6+ Kb5 85 Rxa5 Qb4 86 Nd6+ Kb5 87 Rxa5 Qb4 88 Nd6+ Kb5 89 Rxa5 Qb4 90 Nd6+ Kb5 91 Rxa5 Qb4 92 Nd6+ Kb5 93 Rxa5 Qb4 94 Nd6+ Kb5 95 Rxa5 Qb4 96 Nd6+ Kb5 97 Rxa5 Qb4 98 Nd6+ Kb5 99 Rxa5 Qb4 100 Nd6+ Kb5

N56 Ne7 12 Be3 Qb4+ 13 Qe4 14 Nd6+ Kb5 15 Rxa5 Qb4 16 Nd6+ Kb5 17 Rxa5 Qb4 18 Nd6+ Kb5 19 Rxa5 Qb4 20 Nd6+ Kb5 21 Rxa5 Qb4 22 Nd6+ Kb5 23 Rxa5 Qb4 24 Nd6+ Kb5 25 Rxa5 Qb4 26 Nd6+ Kb5 27 Rxa5 Qb4 28 Nd6+ Kb5 29 Rxa5 Qb4 30 Nd6+ Kb5 31 Rxa5 Qb4 32 Nd6+ Kb5 33 Rxa5 Qb4 34 Nd6+ Kb5 35 Rxa5 Qb4 36 Nd6+ Kb5 37 Rxa5 Qb4 38 Nd6+ Kb5 39 Rxa5 Qb4 40 Nd6+ Kb5 41 Rxa5 Qb4 42 Nd6+ Kb5 43 Rxa5 Qb4 44 Nd6+ Kb5 45 Rxa5 Qb4 46 Nd6+ Kb5 47 Rxa5 Qb4 48 Nd6+ Kb5 49 Rxa5 Qb4 50 Nd6+ Kb5 51 Rxa5 Qb4 52 Nd6+ Kb5 53 Rxa5 Qb4 54 Nd6+ Kb5 55 Rxa5 Qb4 56 Nd6+ Kb5 57 Rxa5 Qb4 58 Nd6+ Kb5 59 Rxa5 Qb4 60 Nd6+ Kb5 61 Rxa5 Qb4 62 Nd6+ Kb5 63 Rxa5 Qb4 64 Nd6+ Kb5 65 Rxa5 Qb4 66 Nd6+ Kb5 67 Rxa5 Qb4 68 Nd6+ Kb5 69 Rxa5 Qb4 70 Nd6+ Kb5 71 Rxa5 Qb4 72 Nd6+ Kb5 73 Rxa5 Qb4 74 Nd6+ Kb5 75 Rxa5 Qb4 76 Nd6+ Kb5 77 Rxa5 Qb4 78 Nd6+ Kb5 79 Rxa5 Qb4 80 Nd6+ Kb5 81 Rxa5 Qb4 82 Nd6+ Kb5 83 Rxa5 Qb4 84 Nd6+ Kb5 85 Rxa5 Qb4 86 Nd6+ Kb5 87 Rxa5 Qb4 88 Nd6+ Kb5 89 Rxa5 Qb4 90 Nd6+ Kb5 91 Rxa5 Qb4 92 Nd6+ Kb5 93 Rxa5 Qb4 94 Nd6+ Kb5 95 Rxa5 Qb4 96 Nd6+ Kb5 97 Rxa5 Qb4 98 Nd6+ Kb5 99 Rxa5 Qb4 100 Nd6+ Kb5

N56 Ne7 12 Be3 Qb4+ 13 Qe4 14 Nd6+ Kb5 15 Rxa5 Qb4 16 Nd6+ Kb5 17 Rxa5 Qb4 18 Nd6+ Kb5 19 Rxa5 Qb4 20 Nd6+ Kb5 21 Rxa5 Qb4 22 Nd6+ Kb5 23 Rxa5 Qb4 24 Nd6+ Kb5 25 Rxa5 Qb4 26 Nd6+ Kb5 27 Rxa5 Qb4 28 Nd6+ Kb5 29 Rxa5 Qb4 30 Nd6+ Kb5 31 Rxa5 Qb4 32 Nd6+ Kb5 33 Rxa5 Qb4 34 Nd6+ Kb5 35 Rxa5 Qb4 36 Nd6+ Kb5 37 Rxa5 Qb4 38 Nd6+ Kb5 39 Rxa5 Qb4 40 Nd6+ Kb5 41 Rxa5 Qb4 42 Nd6+ Kb5 43 Rxa5 Qb4 44 Nd6+ Kb5 45 Rxa5 Qb4 46 Nd6+ Kb5 47 Rxa5 Qb4 48 Nd6+ Kb5 49 Rxa5 Qb4 50 Nd6+ Kb5 51 Rxa5 Qb4 52 Nd6+ Kb5 53 Rxa5 Qb4 54 Nd6+ Kb5 55 Rxa5 Qb4 56 Nd6+ Kb5 57 Rxa5 Qb4 58 Nd6+ Kb5 59 Rxa5 Qb4 60 Nd6+ Kb5 61 Rxa5 Qb4 62 Nd6+ Kb5 63 Rxa5 Qb4 64 Nd6+ Kb5 65 Rxa5 Qb4 66 Nd6+ Kb5 67 Rxa5 Qb4 68 Nd6+ Kb5 69 Rxa5 Qb4 70 Nd6+ Kb5 71 Rxa5 Qb4 72 Nd6+ Kb5 73 Rxa5 Qb4 74 Nd6+ Kb5 75 Rxa5 Qb4 76 Nd6+ Kb5 77 Rxa5 Qb4 78 Nd6+ Kb5 79 Rxa5 Qb4 80 Nd6+ Kb

Old masters of the sky

Mark Cooker

TO THE north of the city of Cáceres we stopped to enjoy the landscape of this arid and unpopulated region of Spain. A rolling landscape fell away in a succession of distant folds, and across the flank of the nearest tawny slope sheep were grazing quietly without distraction. All would have looked a perfect spring scene except the warm breeze carried towards us an unmistakable odour of decay.

One of the flock had died, but despite the buzziness of the hillside we never saw the carcass since it was surrounded by a circular mass of vultures. And each minute that we watched, fresh birds sailed down from the heavens, the wind whirling from their two-metre wings in an audible rush of air. On the ground there was such a seething crowd of bodies that an accurate count was impossible. However, we estimated about 120 birds.

The majority of them were griffon vultures, birds with aerial mastery that they can cover up to 450 kilometres a day in search of a carcass. In a morning down on a hill they can reach speeds of 140km/h. Yet as the vultures cruised in to land, their wings were almost completely closed at the moment of touchdown and just a few bounding steps brought the manoeuvre to a total halt.

It was a consummate performance that couldn't have been more contrasting with the untidy mess that ensued as the periphery of the circle scored scores of "candidates", hungry birds whose aggression may well be triggered by the release of digestive juices.

Once the urge to feed overwhelmed these "candidates" they scrambled and jostled to the centre, where occasionally birds would leap on their rival's back and attack with feet raised and neck extended. But these are largely ritual exchanges that cause little harm to participants, and they ensure a constant rota at the carcass.



ILLUSTRATION: ANN HODGAY

that allows many to take their turn. The griffon vultures were splendid creatures, but their close relative, the black vulture, was more impressive still. It is the biggest bird of prey in Eurasia. A large female can weigh more than 15kg and has a wingspan of almost three metres.

On the ground they look extraordinary. Around the long bare neck is a collar of shaggy feathers that can be raised like a mane. The whole effect is a kind of ghoul-like majesty.

On an African safari, congregations of vultures are almost daily events, but in Europe they are much more special. Since the Middle Ages griffon and especially black vultures have steadily been edged out of many countries — from Ger-

many, Poland, Romania and much of southern France. Spain is now their last great stronghold, where the population of griffons almost doubled to 8,000 pairs by 1990, while Extremadura holds some of the largest concentrations of black vultures found anywhere in the world.

In Europe as a whole their preference defines the continent's last wild places — usually landscapes of open country, where the griffon vultures (and even the people themselves) seem to live more freely and in a sometimes unadorned.

Vultures mark the parameters of my travel interest in Europe. Their absence, and all it implies, keeps me away from most northern countries and even from the Italian peninsula with its cultural feast of museums and churches. But I'm seldom deterred. And who would deny that a soaring vulture is one of God's great works of art?

Chess Leonard Barden

AFTER just four seasons Britain's Four Nations Chess League (FNCL) is fast maturing into a serious challenger to its long-established rivals in Germany, France and the Netherlands. Virtually all the FNCL's leading grandmasters take part.

The 1997-98 champions, for the second year running, were Midland Monarchs, who mix experienced local GMs with some of the brightest young university talent; thus the league provides serious impetus for Britain's chess future.

GMs relish the chance to meet high-quality opposition at leisurely time rates. An innovative rule requiring at least one woman player per team has also been successful.

There have been some glitches. No Scottish team has yet taken part because of the problems of travel to Birmingham six times a season. Hopes that a sponsor would provide prize money and backing for top teams who qualify for the European Cup have also come to nothing.

In the past season FNCL and the European Cup have both had their share of controversy. The FNCL season began without chess as one of its boards, a non-playing team, did not turn up. In the end, the league was sent off in the Europa Cup for an opponent in the back, and a 2000 GM walked out after a dispute with his manager. Everybody gets heated, but these incidents will make wonderful conversation pieces at chess parties in 10 years' time.

GM Mark Hebden (Midlands)
IM Colin Crouch (Barbican)
1. Nf5 Nc7 12. Be3 Qb4+ 13. Qd2 14. Nd5 Kf8 15. Bc5 Qd5 16. Kd2 Nc6 17. R4 Ke7 18. Qc6 B4 Ke6 20. Bg2 Rb8 21. Rcl g4d4 22. Rxc4 Nb4 24. Rxc4 Rxc4 25. Kc5 26. Nd4 27. Rxc4 28. Nd7 29. b3 and 29. b2



No 2529

Helpmates in two moves, with the black king on e1, is the theme of the problem. White to move. The black king is on e1, and the white king is on e1. The black king is on e1, and the white king is on e1. The black king is on e1, and the white king is on e1.

In helpmates, Black moves first, then both sides combine to mate the white king. In this problem, White to move, the black king is on e1, and the white king is on e1. The black king is on e1, and the white king is on e1. The black king is on e1, and the white king is on e1.

White to move. The black king is on e1, and the white king is on e1. The black king is on e1, and the white king is on e1. The black king is on e1, and the white king is on e1. The black king is on e1, and the white king is on e1.

White to move. The black king is on e1, and the white king is on e1. The black king is on e1, and the white king is on e1. The black king is on e1, and the white king is on e1. The black king is on e1, and the white king is on e1. The black king is on e1, and the white king is on e1.

No 2528: 1. Nf1 e2 2. f3 h2 3. d4 4. e5 5. f6 6. g7 7. h8 8. a7 9. b8 10. c9 11. d10 12. e11 13. f12 14. g13 15. h14 16. a15 17. b16 18. c17 19. d18 20. e19 21. f20 22. g21 23. h22 24. a23 25. b24 26. c25 27. d26 28. e27 29. f28 30. g29 31. h30 32. a31 33. b32 34. c33 35. d34 36. e35 37. f36 38. g37 39. h38 40. a39 41. b40 42. c41 43. d42 44. e43 45. f44 46. g45 47. h46 48. a47 49. b48 50. c49 51. d50 52. e51 53. f52 54. g53 55. h54 56. a55 57. b56 58. c57 59. d58 60. e59 61. f60 62. g61 63. h62 64. a63 65. b64 66. c65 67. d66 68. e67 69. f68 70. g69 71. h70 72. a71 73. b72 74. c73 75. d74 76. e75 77. f76 78. g77 79. h78 80. a79 81. b80 82. c81 83. d82 84. e83 85. f84 86. g85 87. h86 88. a87 89. b88 90. c89 91. d90 92. e91 93. f92 94. g93 95. h94 96. a95 97. b96 98. c97 99. d98 100. e99 101. f100 102. g101 103. h102 104. a103 105. b104 106. c105 107. d106 108. e107 109. f108 110. g109 111. h110 112. a111 113. b112 114. c113 115. d114 116. e115 117. f116 118. g117 119. h118 120. a119 121. b120 122. 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